THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN ORISSA

Their Impact on Nineteenth Century Society

DASARATHI SWARO

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About the Book

The missionary activities were of particular importance to the socio-religious, cultural and educational history of modern Orissa. This is the first book to give a detail analysis of their multiple achievements in Orissa in nineteenth century. The book should thus appeal to anyone interested in the history of missionary organisation in Orissa ; the development of missionary education ; in the development of Orissan culture ; and in questions of tribals of Orissa.

The missionary activities have also been dealt with in detail during the natural calamities.

The data of the book have been collected from different archivial, private papers and Reports of the missionaries of Orissa.

ISBN No: 81-85094-35-7 Rs. 280

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NINETEENTH CENTURY SOCIETY

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ORISSA STUDIES PROJECT No. 37.

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN ORISSA

(THEIR IMPACT ON NINETEENTH CENTURY SOCIETY)

DASARATHI SWARO

PUNTHI PUSTAK
CALCUTTA 1990

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Published by :

Sankar Bhattacharya
PUNTHI PUSTAK
136/4B, Bidhan Sarani,
Calcutta-700 004
(India)

© Author

First Published August, 1990

ISBN No : 81-85094-35-7

Price : Rs. 280·00

Printed by :

Arun Kumar Pyne
ARIN PRINTERS
51/1/1, Sikdar Bagan Street,
Calcutta-700 004

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To

THE SACRED MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

(Late CHANDRAMA SWARO)

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Foreword

Scholarly interest in the Social history of 19th century Orissa is a welcome development ; the more so when scholars seek to identify the various forces influencing the course of the social development of the region. One of the forces was represented by the local Christian missionary organisations whose activities have been carefully studied by Dr Swaro.

This is, indeed, the first full-length study on the theme ; it is a study in range and depth, the author having covered a wide area and many aspects of local life that came under Christian missionary influence. The intensity of the influence varied from place to place, depending on the efficacy of its purveyors. Many interesting facts have been culled from a great variety and volume of source materials, the author being both careful and cautious in handling them. Not all the missionary literature on the life of the people of 19th century Orissa have been implicitly relied upon nor all of them dismissed as biased stuff. A rare spirit of objectivity is evident in this scholarly work, the author being neither a captious critic of all that the missionaries did not a blind admirer of all that they achieved.

Social transformation was not the declared objective of the missionaries, but social reclamation of some segments of the society was the intended result of their sustained activities. This Dr Swaro has clearly shown. The missionaries appear through both their papers and their analyses by the author as do-gooders in times of famine and natural calamities when they freely gave food and shelter to the distressed people and as freely berated the Christian Government for its rank callousness and its officers incompetence.

The pioneering role of the missionaries as public educators bears recalling ; nowhere was the role more evident than in vast tribal tracts of Orissa. Not many tribals could be converted to Christianity—if at all the missionaries wanted it—but contact with the missionaries did "humanise" the "noble savages".

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This is recorded in contemporary Government documents too in which the close collaboration of the Government and missionary organisations for tribal uplift comes out clearly. Conversion to Christianity was not the prerequisite to education imparted in missionary schools where Christian pupils were not treated as the favoured few. It was *western* education, not *Christian* education—a point which needs to be stressed.

The Jagannath temple came in for unremitting missionary attack, typifying as it did the greatest obstacle to the culture change which the missionaries sought to effect by proselytisation. To the local people, however, the cult of Jagannath represented the best feature of their culture and tradition—syncretism, catholicity, tolerance and resilience. The missionaries carried their war against the Lord into the recesses of the British Parliament where avid discussions on the Hindu religion were punctuated with acerbatic comments on its inelasticity. The Lord stood it all ; missionary influence on the religious life of Orissa continued to be minimal ; the Cult of Jagannath continued to provide sustenance to the local cultural life.

Apart from the minute details about missionary activity in Orissa, the most conspicuous feature of Dr Swaro's work is the exhaustive bibliography it provides. One is struck by the diligence of the scholar in locating source materials at many places.

The last word on the theme has not been told by Dr Swaro ; he does not claim to have done that either. But his none would grudge the credit which is/due ; he spoke first on the theme, and spoke at great length.

K. Mojumdar
Professor and Head, Dept. of History
Nagpur University,
Nagpur.

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PREFACE

This study is an attempt to describe the contribution of Christian Missionaries to Orissa in the 19th Century. On all India scale Dr. Kenneth Ingham's Reformers in India is a valuable Work. Dr. E. D. Potts in British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837 : the History of Serampore and its Missions, Dr. K. P. Sengupta in Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793-1833, and M. A. Laird in Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837 dealt with the missionary activities in Bengal.

No such study with special reference to the Missionaries work in Orissa has been made so far. The present study explores the missionary activities in Orissa.

The First Chapter deals with various missionary organisations in Orissa and their relationship with eachother. It also narrates the methods of the Missionaries such as, preaching, teaching and distributing sacred literature and the medical services for the spread of Christianity in Orissa.

Second Chapter describes the results of Missionary activities and the number of early converts and their social background, their behaviours after conversion, people's reaction to-wards conversion and the converts. It also deals with the role of Sadhu Sundar Das some of whose disciples became the early converts.

An elaborate discussion has been made in the third chapter as to how the missionaries attempted to rehabilitate the native converts in Christian colonies.

Chapter four describes the religious policy of the East India Company and especially its policy to-wards the Jagannath Temple of Puri. The missionaries put up a struggle with the Government to bring about an end in the Government's patronage of the Jagannath Temple.

The activities of the missionaries among the tribals of Orissa, mainly among the Khonds, and Santals have been discussed in the fifth Chapter. A brief description of the ethnic origin

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and growth of tribals and their socio-economic conditions have been also high-lighted. An elaborate treatment to the impact of the missionary activities on the tribal societies has been made.

The role of Christian Missionaries in the Great Famine of 1866 is depicted in chapter six. An attempt has been made to analyse missionary education in Orissa in the seventh chapter. This chapter mainly deals with the nature of missionary educational institutions.

In the concluding chapter adequate lights have been thrown on how the permanent contributions of the missionary non-evangelical activities came directly and indirectly from the evangelical activities.

This book is based upon my thesis submitted to the Berhampur University which conferred upon me the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1986. My thanks are due to the authorities of the National Library, West-Bengal State Archives, Asiatic Society Library (Calcutta); Carey Library, Serampore ; National Archives, Vidyajyoti Library, J. N. U. Library (New-Delhi) ; Orissa State Archives and the Museum Library (Bhubaneswar), for allowing me to use their relevant source materials available in their Centres. I am also equally grateful to the authorities of various Church libraries in different parts of India for their kind Co-operation to me in the process of the source materials.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. K. Mojumdar, Prof. and Head of the Department of History, Nagpur University for his able guidance which resulted in the completion of this work. I am no less grateful to my teachers Dr. Behera and Dr. P. S. N. Patra who always helped me in time of need.

I am grateful to the University Grants Commission forawarding me a Research fellowship (1974-78).

The thesis has been read in type script by Sri B. P. Rath, Lecturer in English, Ganjam College, Ganjam and Narasingh Rao Patro to whom my thanks are due.

I am thankful to my wife Dr. Usha Padhy, M. A. Ph. D. for her constant inspiration and assistance throughout my

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research work, although she was extremely busy with her College and research works. She took pain too to prepare the index of this book.

I express my gratefulness to Sri S. K. Bhattacharya, Proprietor of Punthi Pustak, Calcutta for his keen interest for the publication of this work.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my Principal, Sri. S. Z. Abedin, to a host of my Colleagues, Friends and well-wishers for their help and assistance to me in all possible ways and without whose co-operation the work could not have been campleted.

19. 6. 90
BHANJANAGAR — DASARATHI SWARO
ORISSA.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. F. B. M.	American Free-will Baptist Mission.
B. A. M. S.	Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society.
B. D. G.	Bengal District Gazetteer.
B. G. P. (Edn.)	Proceedings of the Lt. Governor of Bengal, General Department (Education).
B. J. (c). P.	Bengal Judicial (Civil) Proceedings.
B. J. (cr.) P.	Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings.
B. M. S.	Baptist Missionary Society.
B. O. D. G.	Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers.
B. R. P.	Proceedings of the Lt. Governor of Bengal Revenue Department.
C. C. O.	Calcutta Christian Observer.
C. R.	Calcutta Review.
C. S.	Christian Spectator.
E. M. S.	Evangelical Missionary Society
F. of I.	Friend of India.
G. B. M. S.	General Baptist Missionary Society.
G. R. P. I.	General Report of Public Instruction.
H. C.	House of Commons.
I. G. I.	Imperial Gazetteer of India
J. T. C.	Jagannath Temple Correspondence.
L. M. S.	London Missionary Society
M. J. L. C.	Madras Journal of Literature and Science
O. H. R. J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
P. A.	Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society.
P. Deb.	Parliamentary Debates.
P. P.	Parliamentary Papers.
R. C. F.	Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Famine in Bengal and Orissa.
R. G. C. P. I.	Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.
S. H. E. L. M.	Schleswig—Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

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1

Missionary Organisation During 19th Century in Orissa

In the 19th Century, Orissa represented the geographical tract extending from the Chilka Lake to the Subarnarekha river, which administratively comprised of three districts, Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and the Princely States, called the 'Orissa Tributary Mahals'.[1] Oriya-speaking people also lived in tracts which were administratively parts of Madras and the Central Provinces.[2]

In the 19th century missionaries of various denominations worked in the Province though the General Baptists of England were the most active amon gthem. The Particular Baptists,[3] the General Baptists,[4] the American Freewill Baptists, the Evangelical Missionary Society and the Roman Catholics had their stations in Orissa. However, with the fusion of the Particular Baptist Society and the General Baptist Society in London, the new Society came to be known as the Baptist Missionary Society in 1891.[5] The Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Missionaries[6] worked among the Oriyas who did not belong to Orissa Division. Thus, it was rightly remarked :

> "The Province of Orissa is a portion of the field of missionary labour, which has all along been occupied by one denominations only at a time. First, the Serampore Missionaries sent preachers of the Gospel thither but on the arrival of the First missionaries from the General Baptist denominations they cheerfully relinquished the district in favour of the new labourers.

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> Since that time Orissa proper, has, a mission field, been occupied exclusively by evangelists belonging either to the English General Baptists, or to the American brethern, the Freewill Baptists."[7]

Thus, during 19th century, the two missionary Societies namely, the G. B. M. S. and the A. F. B. M. played an important role in Orissa. The former society mainly confined its activities to the districts of Cuttack and Puri, besides the 'Tributary Mahals' and the latter (A. F. B. M.) to the district of Balasore.

The General Baptist Mission had established its stations at Cuttack (1822), Puri (1823), Balasore (1825), and Piple (1849). The Sub-stations were, Parbatia, Kapatikiri, Arakhatanagar, Bilepada, Asrayapur, Bonamalipur and Baripada.[8]

Besides the above mentioned stations, the Mission had other stations in Oriya-speaking tracts, administratively under the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. Those stations were : Berhampore (1836), Ganjam (1840), Padri-palli, Russellkonda (1861), Khondstan, Loisingha (1893), Telanpali (1897) and Aska (1899).[9] The A. F. B. M. functioned from their stations at Balasore (1835), Jellasore (1840), Mitrapore (1855), Santipore (1865), Chandbali (1885), Bhadrak (1890), and Contai (1892).[10]

Missionaries of the A. F. B. M. set up at Sambalpur, their first station in 1836 and abandoned that in 1838 as the climate of Sambalpur did not suit them whose wives and children died there one after another.[11]

The Roman Catholics had their stations at Cuttack (1850), Balasore (1866) and Nagalakata in Mayurbhanj (1879).[12]

The Roman Catholics had their centres at several places in Ganjam such as Surada (1853), Dantilingy (1854), Berhampur (1855), Kattingia (1883), Gopalpur (1896) and Mondasoro (1900).[13] The Evangelical Missionary Society had started work at Mayurbhanj in 1896.[13-A]

The German Evangelical Lutheran Missionaries, otherwise

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known as Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Missionaries though worked in the Oriya-speaking tracts, in the following stations, those were not under the administrative control of the Orissa Province. They had stations at Koraput (1882), Kotpad (1885), Jeypore (1886), Nowrangpur (1889) and Parvatipur (1889).[14]

Thus, during nineteenth century among all the Missionary Societies, two Missionary Societies actively worked. They were the G.B.M.S. and the A. F. B. M. The General Baptist Society played an important role to establish stations of A. F. B. M. in Orissa. It was due to the efforts of Amos Sutton of the G.B.M.S., A. F. B. M. came into existence in Orissa. The goal of the two Missionary Societies was one. On all matters they discussed together. The fact was clear from the words of their missionaries. Eli Noyes, of A. F. B. M. wrote to James Peggs in 1837, "Our interest is the same with your missionaries; our sentiments are one; our cause is one and we are one."[15]

Indeed, in all the affairs, preaching, teaching and other departments of Missionary Societies, the two Societies worked together in Orissa. During the first part of the 19th century the General Baptist Missionaries provided to the A. F. B. M. with native preachers. Native preachers of the G. B. M. S. worked with the A. F. B. M.[16] For a number of years, the G. B. M. S. imparted theological education to the students of the A. F. B. M.[17] Thus, there was a close relation between the two denominations of the Baptist Missionaries in Orissa. Lacation of new Mission stations were carefully planned. The primary consideration seems to have been that the place be a town which because of its political, economic or religious importance might be a good centre for spreading the message of the Gospel. The missionaries preferred establishing stations in areas ruled directly by the British to those under Princely States for they were unsure of their security in the latter.[18] The G. B. M. S. chose Cuttack[19] as their main centre of activity in Orissa; as

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the Capital of Orissa Division. it had political importance.

Here, there were Government offices besides a military station of the Bengal Infantry. Pilgrims from far and near on their way to Puri passed through Cuttack. The town was thus, ideally suited for the evangelical activity.

Puri[20] was chosen as the next station because of its religious importance. Missionaries of various denominations realised the importance of Puri. It was the place of Jagannath to which thousands of pilgrims flocked from different parts of India. That was the place at which almost all the missionaries of Baptist denominations gathered at least once in a year, that is, during the Car Festival, to preach the Gospel.

Balasore[2] was a commercial town. Pilgrims from Bengal, passed through Balasore and Bhadrak road in large numbers taking rest at Balasore, Bhadrak and nearby road-side villages. The General Baptist Missionary Society's instruction was to preach Christianity to the pilgrims. The missionaries wrote in their diaries how they preached the Gospels to thousands in those places.[22] The A. F. B. M. chose Balasore because they were interested to preach Christianity among the aboriginals of Balasore, mainly Santals.[33] Thus, the missionaries of Orissa, before establishing stations in different parts of the Province, studied carefully the importance of those places.

The missionaries would generally avoid competition among themselves. They would avoid a place where some missionary societies were already active. They acted in close co-operation among themselves working in different areas. A missionary remarked : "we are inclined however, to think the absence of competition, by missionaries of various denominations on the one hand ; and the decided preference given to direct preaching and itinerating, on the otherhand, or not the least important causes of that success."[24]

Missionary co-operation can be studied from a letter of Carey, which he wrote to G. Cran and A. Desgrangs of London Missionary Society. At the beginning of 1805, when

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Cran and Desgrangs were deliberating as to where they should set up a station on behalf of L. M. S., some of those whose advice they sought directed their attention to Cuttack and Ganjam. However, they knew the Serampore missionaries had undertaken a translation of the Scriptures into the Oriya language, and they were likely soon to send missionaries to Orissa, and so preferred to settle at, Vizagapatna.[25]

The General Baptist Home Society instructed their missionaries to contact and take advice of Serampore missionaries before setting up a station at any place.[26] As per the advice of the Serampore missionaries Orissa was chosen as mission station. Before their departure from Calcutta, the Orissa missionaries received a thousand Gospels and Epistles in Oriya, and 500 tracts from Serampore.[27] From George Pearce of Calcutta 600 tracts in differents language were furnished by the Calcutta Baptist Tract Society. From Thomson, the Secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, within 70 and 80 copies of the Scriptures in English, Bengali, Persian and Hindustani ; and from J. Keith of the Independent Tract Society 2000 tracts in Bengali and English were received by them.[28]

When the G. B. M. S. settled and established their stations in Orissa, they were provided with papers and money by the various religious societies of America, England and India.[29]

Close co-operation existed among the missionaries of various denominations in many ways. Balasore, as a mission centre was occupied by the General Baptists from 1825-1838.[30] The General Baptists left Balasore as a mission centre to the American Freewill Baptist in 1838, as Sutton was responsible in bringing the missionaries of A. F. B. M. to Orissa in 1836.[31]

The Baptist Missionary Society[32] was established in 1792 at Kettering through the efforts of william Carey. The B.M.S. appointed william Carey and John Thomas as missionaries in India on 150 a year in November, 1793[33].

After the settlement of the B. M. S. at Serampore many

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attempts were made by them in conjuction with the Society in England to establish missionary stations in other places. Immediately after their settlement, the Serampore Trio, william Carey,[34] Joshua Marshman[35] and William Ward[36] started translating the Gospel into various languages of the East. In 1806, having portions of the New Testament and a few tracts ready for circulation in that Province, the Serampore missionaries sent the native preachers Krishna Pal and Sebak Ram, to preach and distribute books as freely as possible between Calcutta and Puri[37], On their way to Orissa they met large numbers of the Bengali pilgrims trekking to Jagannath. Two Brahmins were leaders of those people with whom they conversed.[38]

The native preachers condemned Jagannath and the Hindu places of pilgrimage. They said that Jagannath was just 'a piece of wood'. After passing a number of villages they came to Bhadrak where they had an opportunity of conversing with a number of Brahmins, who manifested great dislike to the Gospel. Then they proceeded to Aurukpore, then Pedumpore and Cuttack, From Cuttack they proceeded to Puri. They distributed some tracts to the pilgrims at Puri.[39]

The Serampore missionaries sent again to them in January 1808 to distribute tracts in between Calcutta and Puri as freely as possible.[40] They came to Puri and distributed some tracts and left the place after some days.

The Serampore missionaries then wished to send William Robinson to preach in Orissa ; but on making ihe necessary enquiries, they ascertained in the early part of 1808, that the Government would not consent to the arrangemcnts.[41] As they were prevented from sending an English missionary they sent John Peter in the middle of 1809. On 18th October, 1809, he was charged with evangelical work in Orissa. He started for Balasore in early January, 1810 and arrived on 17th.[42]

Peter[43] stayed first with Mrs. Hower, a Portuguese lady.

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In a letter to William Ward dated 22nd January, 1810, he asked him to send Krishnoo Das soon, as Balasore, a large place, needed many preachers.[44]

Peter commenced public worship in his house where several people gathered ; among whom were several Bengali and Oriya merchants. Some Portuguese also assembled. They asked for some books. Besides public worship at his home he started preaching at markets. In February, 1810, at 'Shabjeeshaut' he preached first. After preaching he distributed some tracts.[45] In the streets he spoke to some privately. He tried at Balasore to learn the Oriya language in order to preach in Oriya. However, he found it difficult to learn Oriya for none would teach him the language.[46]

Krishna Das arrived on March 12, 1810 with his family to join Peter. Krishna Das and Peter achieved little.[47] In a letter to Ward dated April 22, 1810, Balasore, he admitted that all his labour had been in vain. "What shall I say concerning the natives ? I mourn for them daily. But few of them call on us : they seem afraid to hear the Doctrines of Jesus. I preach the Crucified Saviour to all men, as the Lord enables me. I often go into their shops, and discourse with them......"[48]

The Oriyas showed little interest in receiving the tracts far less going through them. However, Peter did not give up. To be sure that the Missionary translation of Scriptures into Oriya was correct, he engaged nine Oriya Brahmins to read the Scriptures.[49] Peter and Krishna Das preached the Gospel among the Europeans too.[50] At Balasore European soldiers of the Garrison and ladies attended the worship at his bungalow. By the end of 1810, fifteen persons were the church members.[51]

At the close of November, 1810, the English army officials were removed from Balasore to Cuttack. William Smith and Charles Green, the two army officials, preached the local people on the way to Cuttack and distributed many Scriptures.

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At Cuttack they did so.[52]

At the end of 1811, an Oriya, named Sadhucharan first gave up his caste.[53] However, no conversion occurred among the natives till 1813. In 1814, a Bengali Brahmin named Jagannath Mukharjya was Baptised by Peter, at Balasore.[54] An Oriya tailor named Kosalee helped Peter in preaching and distributing tracts, though for fear of oppression from his near and dear ones, he did not embrace Christianity. The same was the attitude of Jaihari Ghose ; another native of Balasore, though he conversed with Peter regarding Christianity for many days and was pleased with it. Due to illness Peter left Orissa in 1817.[55]

Thus, between 1806 to 1817, the Serampore missionaries effort to preach Christianity in Balasore through native preachers carried them little success.

After Peter's departure from Orissa, the Serampore missionaries were anxious to send another missionary to Orissa and, if possible, a European. In December, 1817, William Yates[56] was strongly urged by them to settle in Cuttack and set up a mission centre there.[57] They failed in that. As per the previous appeal of the Serampore missionaries before the Home Committee, for a missionary to Orissa. Stephen Sutton arrived at Serampore in March, 1818, with this object in view. It was soon decided by the Serampore missionaries that he should make Cuttack his station. In July, 1818, the permission of the Government was asked. At that time the *Paik* Rebellion[58] was raging and the situation was grave and so the permission was not granted. S. Sutton worked at Mursidabad. Thus, from 1818 to 1822, there were no missionaries ormission stations in Orissa due to the grave situation emerging out of the *Paik* Rebellion.

After the Serampore missionaries, the General Baptists of England occupied Orissa in February 12, 1822.[59] In 1836, the American Freewill Baptists set up their stations in Orissa.[60]

The Roman Catholic missionaries were not active in the

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first part of the 19th century in Orissa. In comparison with the Baptists they had less stations and those were opened after 1850.

The Roman Catholic missionaries were subjected to the diocese or Arch-diocese's head the Lord Bishop. The Province of Orissa was under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Vizagapatam and Arch-diocese of Calcutta. In 1834, two Vicariates Apostolic were created that of Calcutta spreading over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and that of Madras, covering the coast upto Bengal. Both these were raised to the rank of arch-diocese when the Indian Hierarchy was formed in 1886. Visakapatnam was made a Vicariate apostolic in 1850, and in 1886 diocese.[61]

The suffragans of Vizagapatam were Cuttack and Ganjam and Balasore was the suffragan of the arch-diocese of Calcutta.

Very Reverent L. Gailhot of the missionaries of Saint Francis of Sales was the first Bishop of the diocese of Vizagapatam under whose jurisdiction the priests worked in Cuttack.[62] Father S. J. Sapart, the first Belgian priest, worked since 1866 at Balasore which was under the jurisdiction of Calcutta arch-diocese.[63] The Roman Catholics worked in the Tributary State of Mayurbhanj tn 1879, at the village Nangalakata.[64]

The Cuttack church was built in the year 1858-59 and was enlarged in 1885.[65] Father S. J. Sapart, the Belgian Catholic priest erected the Chapal by his own efforts in Balasore. Though for the construction of the church he asked the help of Government, no financial help was given to him for the said purpose. In the construction of the churches, the Catholic priest got subscriptions from the Europeans of India and other liberal men in India (both Christians and non-Christians) and abroad. The converts and their church members liberally donated for the said purpose.[66]

The Evangelical Missionory Society started its work in

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1896 by the inspiration of Miss Gilbert, who visited Mayurbhanj in course of her missionary tour in Bengal. Her inspiration led Kate Robert Allanby to come to Mayurbhanj from Brisbane (Australia). Miss Allanby soon after her arrival acquired proficiency in the Oriya language and proceeded to Mayurbhanj where she worked till her death in 1931 at Baripada.[67]

Preaching the Gospel was her main work. The mission was supported by foreign as well as Indian helpers. She did not take much interest in other departments of missionary labour such as : education, orphanages, hospitals etc. However, in the early part of 20th century this missionary Society did a lot of service besides evangelistic work.[68]

The American Freewill Baptist missionaries commenced their activities in the Orissa Division in 1838, though they had come two years earlier to Sambalpur. Amos Sutton of the G.B.M.S. was instrumental in establishing a foreign missionary society among a numerous body of American Baptists who were denominated Freewill Baptists.[69]

Sutton visited United States, first "with a view to the restoration of his health", and secondly "with a hope of awakening the attention of the brethern in that part of the world to the importance of the missionary exertion."[70] In September, 1836, Sutton came with Eli Noyes and Mrs. Noyes and J. Philips and Mrs. Philips and for a time they resided with John Goadby, a General Baptist missionary, at Balasore. Noyes, for a few months, stayed at Cuttack where he acted as a teacher in an English School.[71]

A meeting was held at Cuttack presided over by Sutton to choose the place for the establishment of the station, and Sambalpur was selected unanimously. From 1836 to 1838 Noyes and Philips laboured at Sambalpur but the climate did not suit them.[72] They lost their wives and children there. In 1838, they left Sambalpur and came to Balasore, which was then a station of General Baptist missionaries. With the

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arrival of Freewill missionaries the General Baptists left it, as there was good understanding between the two denominations in 19th century. Later on, they set up mission stations at Jaleswar, Mitrapore, Shantipore, Chandaballi, Bhadrak and Contai.[73]

The A.F.B. missionaries of Orissa, after their arrival, commenced worshipping English in their bungalows. They erected their first chapel in 1839, at Balasore, the expense of which was defrayed by the donations of Europeans there.[74] The chapels at their stations were built by the donations of Europeans in India and by the Mission fund. The native Christians contributed subscriptions for the erection of the chapel too.[75]

The missionaries of that denomination were the agents of the foreign board of the A.F.B.M. Society, Philadelphia. It supported the Society's stations in Orissa. The missionaries in Orissa nominated one among themselves as Secretary. At thc Annual Conferences the appointment of pastors, evangelists, etc. were made.[76]

The Society sent to Orissa eminent men as missionaries. The early missionaries were Eli Noyes, J. Philips, O.R. Bachelor, H. Cunning, J. Dow, Miss S.P. Meril and R. Cooley etc. Philips was a linguist, Bachelor was a doctor and both of them contributed to the respective fields for a longer period..[77]

Life for ths missionary was indeed hard. The early missionaries of this denomination suffered much during their missionary lives. Noyes's two children died and others suffered frequentlty. Philipa's wife died and for her cremation no native came to dig the burial ground.[78] But the missionaries were undeterred by these reverses. At last, Dyataree, the native preacher and the Muslim servant did it. Bachelor also lost his first wife and then married Sharp, P. Meril, the lady missionary, of the mission.[79]

In spite of the suffering the missionaries never lost their

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zeal. Preaching, teaching and distribution of sacred Scriptures were the three methods they adopted for their work. Usually the Freewill Baptists, in common with most other missionaries, preached to or conversed with the people wherever they found a group. They confined their evangelical activities mainly to markets, festivals, and the places of public resort. In the rainy season the missionaries with the native preachers preached near the head-quarters. In other seasons, specially in cold it was confined to the interior of the country. After preaching, they usually distributed Scriptures and tracts.[80]

The missionaries held annual conferences where important discussions were held. The missionaries also attended the conferences of the General Baptists some-times. The Freewill Baptist missionaries followed the methods of the General Baptists in case of preaching, teaching and distribution of Scriptures.[81]

The missionaries soon after the commencement of the mission decided to hold an annual conference for the "purpose of cherishing fraternal feelings towards each other and for the discussion of such matters as affected the whole body."[82] The missionaries of Baptist denominations conducted conferences for their vital discussions. In 19th century the annual conference was held almost every year, before the commencement of the cold season. Sometimes special conferences were conducted by the missionaries in other seasons too.[83]

Special meetings were conducted by several missionaries of Baptist denominations. In 1836, it was decided that Puri should be visited during its various festivals by the neighbouring missionaries. It was also decided that the bungalow where Bampton and Sutton stayed should be repaired[84] and retained for their accommodation at such times. That arrangement was approved at the Cuttack conference in 1836 and had since been sanctioned by the Committee. Thus, all the proceedings of the special meetings were confirmed in the

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Cuttack Annual meetings of the General Baptist Missionary Society.

In the conferences almost all the important matters were discussed and proceedings were sent to their home Society for information. The General Baptists sent their reports to the Secretary of the foreign mission of the G.B.M.S.[85]

Printing of tracts, enlargement of Christian literature, establishment of new schools, chapels and mission sub-stations, appointment of native preachers, transfer of missionaries from one station to another, salaries of the native preachers, teachers, sanitary expenditure etc. were discussed and approved in the conference. Missionaries also discussed the success in case of conversion of natives to Christianity in different stations and sub-stations. The work done by the mission and to be done were planned and discussed there.[86] In the conferences sometimes the A.F.B.M's missionaries also participated. Generally the annual meeting of the General Baptists was conducted at Cuttack, their headquarters in the province of Orissa. However, sometimes the annual conferences was held at Berhampur[87] in the district of Ganjam of the Madras Presidency.

In every district also the missionaries held their district meetings to consider matters of vital importance.[88]

The A.F.B. missionaries also held separate annual meetings to discuss their problems. The conference determined the location of the missionaries and the work which each one was to do. All expenditure was subject to its control. No native person could be employed as a preacher or teacher, but by its sanction. So strictly was that attended to that, if any one threw up his work, he could not be reinstated ; but by the vote of the conference. All salaries of the native preachers also were determined by the body and not by the judgement of individual members. The question regarding the burial of the natives, marriage to a secod one, 'total abstinence', duty of the native christians to church etc. were discussed and voted

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too. Thus, the mission confined its activity with the Santals mainly'.[89]

The conferences were held before cold season preaching mainly at Midnapore of Bengal. Conferences were held often also at Bhimpur, Jalleswar and Balasore.[90]

As close co-operation existed among the Protestant Missionaries of India, they went on conducting several conferences and meetings to discuss the important problems and to maintain great harmony among them. The case was far dlfferent with Roman Catholics who were generally regarded by the Baptists as not much better than 'heathen Hindoos'.[1]

In 1831, the missionaries of various denominations of Calcutta for the first time held monthly meetings at Calcutta to discuss the matters of general importance.[91] In course of time, in 1855, the Protestant missionaries of Bengal Presidency assembled at Calcutta for the first time in order to consider the question connected with their common work, and that example was followed by the missionaries of other parts of India. To the conference of Bengal the Orissa Baptist missionaries, sometimes, sent delegates with returns and sometimes only returns of the Province. Several such conferences were held in the 19th century. In 1872, the First National General Missionary Conference was arranged in Allhabad.[92]

The periodical conferences brought unity among the missionaries of various denominations.

ACTIVITIES OF THE G.B.M.S.

In 1816, the General Baptist Missionary Society was formed whose first Secretary was J. G. Pike of Derby and R. Seals of Nattingham was Treasurer.[93] Shortly after the formation of that Society, William Ward of Serampore wrote to Pike to send a missionary to Bengal as they would help him in all possible. ways. The G.B.M.S. Committee accepted the offer and Messrs Slater and Glover offered themselves as candidates in 1819. Due to the death of Slater on August 22, 1822, William Bampton, then Minister at Yarmouth in Norfolk offered himself

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to the committee in a letter dated January 11, 1820. On May 15, 1820, the ordination of Bampton took place at Loughborough. Thus Bampton was appointed by the Committee as its first missionary to Orissa.[94]

In accordance with the advice of the Serampore missionaries it was decided to make Orissa the field of operation. William Carey, Jeshua Marshman and William Ward, the Serampore Trio, unanimously agreed that they would commence their activities in Orissa, as Assam was still unsettled, Punjab was far off, but Orissa was just close to Bengal.[95]

Thus, the G.B. missionaries afrived at Cuttack on February, 12, 1822, with William Bampton and James Peggs as its first missionaries. The missionaries after their arrival commenced preaching in English in their bungalows as there was no chapel from 1822 to 1825 in Orissa.[96] The Early missionaries constructed the first Chapel in Orissa in 1826, which was opened for preaching on November 6, 1826.[97] Charles Lacey and Amos Sutton, the missionaries collected subscriptions from among the European gentlemen of Orissa and Calcutta amounting to one thousand rupees for the erection of the said chapel. Chapels were erected at Parvatia in 1840, Khunditar (1840), Piple (1850), and Mandapada (1868). The expense of the Parvatia and Khunditar Chapels was borne by G. Haff and G. Becher, two European gentlemen. The native Christians donated some amount for the erection of the chapels too.[98]

At the chapels, the missionaries commenced public preaching when they were present on every Lord's day.

The early missionaries of Orissa[99] had to suffer a lot during their missionary lives. The missionaries, in most cases, arrived in Orissa with their wives. Some missionaries lost their wives and subsequently got married to the female missionaries of the mission. Some of the early missionaries also lost their children in Orissa.

The lives of the missionaries were not bed of roses. Itineracy or cold season preaching was full of risk. They mentioned the

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visits of tigers, bears, and other wild animals to their tents where they halted at night during itineracy.[100] The missionaries generally took rice, meat, eggs, spiced beef, biscuits, wine etc., in preaching tour as well as in ordinary times. Sometimes they had to take rice with sugar as some of them narrated in their journals.[101]

The missionaries were educated and had expertise at least in one branch of the missionary labour. Bampton and Lacey knew about medical Science and cured many during their period of stay at Orissa. Peggs, Lacey and Sutton were the authors of many books in vernacular. Brook was an expert in press work. The missionaries in Orissa adopted native customs besides their own custom in matters of food and clothing.[102] Some of the early missionaries, Bampton and Lacey during the preaching tour, used to wear the native dresses. Bampton assumed it in 1825, which in general the missionaries of India did not like. He was instructed by the missionaries not to adopt native dress which he had abandoned earlier.[103] Bampton preferred native dress to English dress. Regarding the native dress Bampton wrote a letter to his friend which runs thus "My object in this metamorphosing myself, is not to please myself, as some have supposed, and may still suppose for I am more comfortable in my English clothes; but my object is to conciliate the people in order to promote the salavation, and defective as I am sure I feel myself to be, in zeal for this vast object, I also feel, as I have two or three times told the people that I should not hesitate to cut off my own hand if it would in that respect, be of any use".[104]

The main aim of the missionaries was to preach the Gospel to the non-Christians. They believed the religions of the Indians wore responsible for their degradation. The B.M.S. in their first circular to 'Christians at Large', in 1792 stated that, "The object of the Society is to evangelize the poor, dark, idolaterous Heathen, by sending missionaries."[105] The G.B.M.S. and the A.F.B.M. also followed the same as their sole principle. The

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object being conversion, the missionaries that worked in Orissa adopted some methods ; preaching, teaching and distributing sacred literature were the three main lines of the missionary activities. The Baptist missionaries after preaching used to distribute tracts, and Scripture portions among the non-Christians. The American Freewill Baptist missionaries followed the same principle while preaching, of the G. B. missionaries. So Sutton remarked, "A missionary's chief business is to preach the Gospel to the natives, and every other department of missionary labour should be attended to as subordinate to this".[106]

Preaching can be broadly divided into two types, mainly bazar preaching and cold season preaching. The missionaries in bazar preaching spoke about the Bible. They had to face the local people who argued with them by quoting from Hindu Sastras.[107] Hence, at bazar preaching the missionaries and the native preachers must have enough knowledge of the Sastras to counter attack the local people. Missionaries and the native preachers thus by giving quotations from Hindu Sastras convinced the natives how their Sastras contained many immoral things. Hence 'the bazar preaching must be awakening and the bazar preacher must be awake. Interruptions are frequent, sometimes savage,' marked Bampton.[108]

Another method of work carried on by the mission from the first was that of itineranting. It was also called "cold season work" and "camp work". During the Winter the missionary, sometimes his wife, the native preachers and helpers lived in a tent, travelled from village to village, from market to market, preaching and distributing tracts and Gospels. Those exercises were conducted in the same way as the bazar preaching. 'Wherever the tent is pitched, there the people congregate, stand or seat, listen. object or ask questions, as they please,' said a missionary.[109] It was a kind of evangelistic tour which had been carried out from year to year by different missionaries and thus the jungle and the distant people knew about Gospels.

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Concerning bazar and camp preaching Dr. Bachelor, a missionary of Balasore, remarked that the great change in public sentiment in the last fifty years was due to largely bazar preaching and itineranting in cold season. Other methods were local and could not reach the masses.[110]

The missionaries generally preached at the religious shrines, melas, markets and places of public importance. Even they did not forget to preach at jails and hospitals.[111] The missionaries undertook regular preaching in their neighbouring villages. They used to visit markets and other places of importance where they expected a good number of people. The missionaries and their wives accompanied by the native converts, native preachers and theological students of the Mission Academy, used to visit and preach in the villages and towns on their way, during those tours.[112] The missionaries never lost time during religious festivals to gather and preach. Almost all the missionaries of the Baptist denominations of Orissa and some of Bengal used to gather at the Car Festival of Jagannath to preach Christianity.[113] The missionaries of London Missionary Society[114] and Church Missionary Society of Bengal [115] also attended for some years, the Car Festival[116] to preach Christianity. Except the year 1857[116-A] the missionaries never failed to gather at Puri from 1822 to 1900.

Either the missionaries or the native preachers would first sing in Oriya, at cross roads, in order to attract the attention of the people. As soon as the necessary congregation was formed they would start preaching. While preaching the missionaries would first attack violently the character of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and the Prophet Muhamed. By doing so they tried to convince that their God, Goddess or Prophet was totally incapable of bestowing any good upon their votaries. Then the missionaries would appeal to everybody present to embrace Christianity because all are sinners and must seek salvation through Jesus Christ only.[117]

Attack on the Indian religions[118] was the theme of

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preaching, but the individual missionaries and preachers differed in their technique. Bampton, the first G.B. missionary, recorded some of the most common arguments while preaching.

'If Jagannath be nothing as you say, then why do so many people come so far to see Him ?' 'If Jagannath be nothing why does the Company take so much money of the pilgrims at the entrance of the town ?' The native preachers were rediculed by some natives who used to ask 'who is Jesus Christ's mother ?' 'Is she married ?' 'Shall we eat beef ?' 'What salary the Company will give if we embrace Christianity ?' 'Will we turn white ?' etc.[119]

The missionaries of the Baptist denominations not only criticised the non-Christians, but the Roman Catholics and their converts also.[120] They criticised them because they bore sandal wood and other marks in their foreheads being permitted by the priests. The early missionaries observed those things during their preaching tour and so criticised them in public gatherings.

The missionaries used some methods while preaching the Gospel. Charles Lacey, the missionary at Cuttack, adopted the following method[121] with great success. He selected a number of subjects, relating to the miracles of Jesus and other fables on which he had prepared discourses. Thus, he had a harvest sermon, a sermon on paying rent to the Zamindars—a sermon about a barren mango tree—another about the judgement day. Those sermons he preached again and again from year to year though not in the same place. With a view to constant improvement in his preaching Lacey kept a 'Bazar Book' in which he entered any new mode of expression or proverbial saying, or similes or objections which he heard from the people whom he addressed.[122]

There were many causes which induced the people to gather round the congregations. The novelty of seeing a European singing in Oriya mostly attracted them.[123] Sometimes the audience would consist of persons who would come hoping

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to acquire favour or some material gain. However, to the chagrin of white-robed missionaries, people mistook them as Government officials and fled away by seeing them, as was the case with some early missionaries. In those cases the missionaries approached some persons and made people clear that they were not the Government officials. Then they narrated the people the purpose of their visits.[124]

In the tributary States there was mixed reaction to Christian activities. In some States the Rajas were hostile and in some others they were either indifferent or co-operative.

Petty Rajas around fifty miles of Cuttack showed sympathetic attitude. Peggs and Lacey, thus remarked, "These petty Rajas, as they are considered, though a caricature on European royalty, are men of influence, and merely favourable to Christianity, capable of doing much good."[125]

At Baripada the Raja of Mayurbhanj treated the missionaries well. For twelve days he provided them food etc. Missionaries were also satisfied with the Rajas of Sonpur and Boudh, with whom they had discussions during their preaching tours.[126]

However, some Rajas and their officials of the Orissa Tributary States showed no sympathy for the missionaries' preaching in their territories. Some Zamindars too stood on the way of missionaries' preaching. At Arada, the Zamindar ordered to impose a fine of one hundred rupees if the people gathered at a preaching place.[127] In some places of the Cuttack Tributary Mahals, the Zamindars made a bond with the suspected persons not to hear Christian preaching. Another land owner sent word to the villagers that everyone who brought a book (tract) would be fined five rupees and so the people returned the tracts.[128] In some places also the Zamindars threatened to kill secretely if one embraced Charistianity.[129]

The missionaries reached the villages for preaching by various types of journey, depending on the circumstances.

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Sometimes they walked and often reached the preaching spots by crossing the rivers through boats.[130]

In Bengal, and other parts of India, especially in the Northern parts, travelling was done in boats, and that was the most comfortable mode of journey. Some of the branches of the Mahanadi, of the Brahmani, of the Subarnarekha and especially the Chilka Lake, afforded facilities for such journeys in Orissa.[131] Missionaries generally rode on horse back, and if their wives accompanied them, they travelled in a palanquin or tonjohn,[132] sometimes on elephant back. They usually travelled about eight to ten miles from stage to stage, unless they had any particular place to reach. They took with them the tents and other camp materials[133] as the natives seldom allowed to stay in their houses, even in their out buildings.[134]

The native preachers and servants used to go on foot. If there was any opportunity of preaching on the road the missionaries often walked with .them the whole or part of the way. In such cases, the servants or missionaries' wives proceeded first to prepare meals.[135]

The missionaries had to face several difficulties in preaching besides the conveyance. Thus, Sutton remarked, "The badness of road, the difficulty of procuring supplies, the reluctance of the people to afford assistance, the inclemency of the weather, the absence of all official authority to command needed aid as changes of bearers, carts and coolies or other means of conveyance often try the strength and patience of the itinerant."[136]

The first and foremost obstacle in preaching was the language. In order to overcome the difficulties all the missionaries had to learn the local language and those who worked among the tribal people learnt both the languages. For the early missionaries learning both the languages was really a difficult task. So, the missionaries had to acquire both the languages.[137] Caste system stood as an obstacle before missionaries.[138] The high caste people threatened

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the 'congregation' as well as the missionaries while preaching. It was very common in Puri where the priests threatened the pilgrims who heard the missionaries preaching. Often the natives used to flee from the spot of preaching when they saw the priests.[139] Richard Temple said that the priestly class was most inimical to British Rule in India. "This class strongly objects to the missionaries' preaching in public and charge the Government with affording them encouragement by allowing it."[140] Bampton observed..."These Brahman villages are bad places to preach in, especially as the people from their visits to Puri know me well......"[141]

While preaching at Puri Bampton requested the people to be seated and hear the Gospel. The Brahmins regretted to see such a large gathering that heard the preaching of Bampton. Sometimes the people feared the presence of Brahmins and looked at them, "as a boy looks at his master" On some other occasions also the arrival of the Brahmins led the audience to follow them instead of hearing the preaching.[142]

A.F. Lacroix, a missionary of L.M.S. of Calcutta, remarked "Missionaries have constantly to preach to men only, whose hearts are more hardened and whose minds are generally more unimpressible than those of women ; and they are thereby debarred from one of the most promising opportunity of doing good..."[143] He pointed out as women were not getting equal opportunities with the men thus they were debarred from knowing Christianity. They used much influence for the promotion of Hinduism. If the females of the country would know about Christianity, they would be more favourable for the progress of Christianity.[144]

The missionaries in their early preaching tours found it difficult to preach the Gospel among women. When the lady missionaries entered the Zenana of the natives the women folk were interested in knowing about Christianity. But among the tribal women, say Santals, they did not find much difficulty

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to preach them.[145]

After the preaching the missionaries used to distribute tracts and Scriptures. The religious tracts were printed with the money supplied by the Christians in Bengal, England and U.S.A. Several religious Societies namely, the British and Foreign Bible Society,[146] the Bible Translation Society,[147] the Religious Tract Society,[148] donated either money or papers for the publication of the Scriptures.

For the publication of those tracts not only the B.M.S. Home Committee provided money but the other religious Societies too. They were the Religious Tract Society of London, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the American Tract Society.

The Orissa Tract Society (1874)[149] received an annual grant from the Religious Tract Society of London. Its main objects were the publication and circulation of the Christian tracts. Tracts were distributed by the missionaries after preaching at places of importance. The early missionaries of Orissa distributed the tracts and noted down the names of the persons and the tracts given to them. They distributed to them who asked for the tracts.[150]

The tracts were sometimes sold at low prices, sometimes distributed free of cost. Generally, in cold season preaching, the missionaries used to sell the tracts at a lower rate. The low caste and tribal people brouhgt fowl and eggs in exchange for those books and tracts.[151] In festivals of importance, tracts of Oriya, Bengali, Nepali and Hindustani, were distributed free.[152]

The Baptist missionaries explained their object of translation and distribution of tracts in a letter to the Society in 1805. They wrote, "We......keep distributing small tracts without reserve," in order to "insure the universal diffusion."[153]

The Gospels were large in volume and so "too expensive to give." The missionaries, therefore, distributed small religious tracts. In 1823, the missionaries of Bengal of B.M.S.,

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L.M.S. and C.M.S. and some lay members met and formed, a Religious Tract Society. The name was changed to the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society in 1827.[154] The Serampore missionaries never associated themselves with the operation of the Society and started to work as a corresponding committee of the London Religious Tract Society.

The tracts varied in size.[155] two to forty four pages. though most of them contained twelve to thirty pages. They were written both in prose and verse. There were mainly three types of tracts. First were the tracts containing polemic writing against the Indian Religions, against caste system or other social customs. They also contained portions of Christian truth and evangelical conception of life. The tracts generally laid emphasis on the power of Christianity to save sinners. The second category consisted of elementary tracts which contained some distinctive features of the Christian religion. The third category included the devotional tracts for the spiritual nourishment of the local Christian Community, such as hymn books, liturgies, commentaries on different Scriptures.

The Oriya tracts may be classified in two groups, one consisting of translations from English and Bengali tracts, another consisting of tracts written in vernacular language either by missionaries or by the Indian Converts. Some of the tracts did not bear the author's name.[156]

Tracts were written either on palm leaf or in printed form.[157] One of the early missionaries, Charles Lacey, engaged some pandits and converts to write and copy some tracts on palm leaf. Every-where the missionaries in Orissa noticed huge demand of tracts.[158] Oriya people preferred English to Oriya tracts. In some cases tracts were misused by the literate, illiterate and children too.[159]

When the Serampore missionaries sent preachers to preach to the people of Orissa, they provided them some tracts and Bible portions.

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The General Baptist missionaries of Orissa after their settlement started writing tracts in vernaculars. When Charles Lacey was stationed in Orissa, he wrote some tracts. He was assisted in his work by Pandit Bhagirathi Mishra. Sutton with his assistance translated Nistar Ratnakar and Satya Asraya from Bengali. Sutton translated a number of Bengali tracts and prepared a Hymn book in Oriya.[160] Lacey edited Christ Bibarna Amrat, translated into Oriya, Barth's Church History, and Bunyan's Holy War. The Early General Baptist missionaries of Orissa prepared and published nine or ten small pieces, namely Elementary Tables of the Oreah Language ; On the law and Gospel ; A Few Hymns from the Bengalee ; The Word of God concerning Idolatry ; A Word of Christianity ; The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ etc....Issac Stubbins wrote Brahma Nasak and Jati Mimansa. The Native missionary Mukunda Das, the Watt's of Orissa, wrote 'Jesus and Krishna Compared', and 'What is Christianity', 'Phulamani and Karuna' and 'Line upon Line' were translated from Bengali,[161] by the missionaries.

Sutton for the first time edited one hundred and fifty songs on Jesus Christ and Christianity. Almost all were in the regional style.[162] Mukunda Das wrote Charimangala Samachar, Geeta Samhita and Hitopadesh in poetry.

The literary activities of the missionaries which produced volumes of Christian books and Tracts, would not have been commenced without a printing press. The Serampore missionaries helped a lot in that regard till 1838, when the Orissa Mission press[163] of the G.B.M.S. was established. It was brought by Lacey in 1837[164] when he returned from England. Sutton first took charge of it. William Brooks[165] a missionary came in 1842 to superintend it and remained in charge of it till 1881.

William Carey was the first missionary to devote his main efforts to the translation of the Bible.[166] The Serampore missionaries received financial help for the translation of the

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Bible from the British and Foreign Bible Society until 1827.

By 1813, the Bible was translated into twenty four languages of the East. The language of Orissa was one of the first into which the Serampore missionaries undertook to translate the Bible after the completion of the Bengali Version. At a committee meeting held by them on January 17, 1804, it was resolved, "That an Orissa Pandit should be immediately retained at the expense of the mission."

On Sept. 20, 1804, the New Testament was advertised as 'ready for the press' and that a grammar of the Oriya language, the joint production of Carey and his Pandit Pooroosh Ram was announced as preparing for publication. Upto that time no Oriya book had been printed. The Oriya New Testament was published in March, 1809,[167] another volume containing the Scriptures from the book of Job to Solomon's song, was published in November following, and the first edition of the entire Bible in five volumes was completed in 1815.

When Sutton arrived as missionary he corrected Carey's Oriya Bible.[167-A] In 1858, Issac Stubbins[168] again revised and corrected from Mathews to Roman and published it; then John Buckley[169] finished that revision work. In the year 1893, the responsibility of the revision of the whole Bible was entrusted to J. G. Pike, Thomas Bailey and Shem Sahu.[170]

The American Free Baptist missionaries were supplied with tracts and Scriptures for their use by the General Baptists of Orissa besides their own Society.

Besides preaching, teaching and distributing sacred literatures, the missionaries of Orissa aimed at medical service also. David B. Smith, Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal remarked, "The missionaries, however, of Orissa are not only apostles of evangelization and education though such is certainly the chief end of their ambition, but they are the friends of sanitation, the dispensers of medicine to the sick, the clothers of the naked, the feeders of the hungry, the shelterers of the exposed, the guardians of friendless, widows and orphans."[171]

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The missionary Societies sent out the missionary physicians, school masters, printers, mechanics and farmers etc. In short, to do the best they came to evangelize, and them by the help of the people civilize the nation. The bodily ailments of the people demanded a large portion of the missionaries' time and attention. The missionaries alleviated the miseries of the pilgrims who suffered at the Car Festival in a large number annually. They relieved many a child of misery by administering medicine to the sick, clothing to the naked, food to the hungry and money to the destitute. Lacey frequently clothed the helpless female with his own hands.[172] On ordinary call by the people, the missionaries attended them also. Peggs, completely broke down in his attempts thus to alleviate the sorrows of suffering humanity. Bachelor of Balasore being a medical man had not only exceeded the Baptist missionaries in systematic labours of that kind, but had undertaken the training of a class of medical students.[173] Bachelor disbursed the medicines to all who had applied. Those applicants were generally poor, and were not able to pay for medical advice. Surgical operations were also performed.[174] The pilgrims on their return from Jagannath usually provided large number of patients. In some cases also people from remote parts of the district as well as from the town and vicinity of Balasore came for treatment. Introduction of chloroform by the missonaries and successful operation brought confidence among the people leading to arrival of more patients.

The medical missionaries had two-fold ministry of relieving physical suffering and preaching the Gospel, either of which should, always help the other. In this connection in 1882, Bachelor remarked that the opportunity for imparting Christian instruction had been greatly enlarged by the influx of patients. On those occasions the missionaries and native preachers reminded the patients to seek the 'Great Physician'.[175]

Bachelor's colleague J. Philips at Jellasore, living by the side of the pilgrim road had also established a small hospital.

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Regarding the result of the missionary labour in medical branch he pointed out. "The missionary is brought much more in contact with the people than he could otherwise be. Wherever he goes, he is sought after. At home, numbers throng his house ; in the country, when on missionary excursions, his congregation is brought to his tent, and he is not under the necessity of going from village to village to collect a small company to which to preach the word of life. He is introduced to the retirement of the family where the foot of stranger seldom trades ; he sits down as the familiar friend and advisor of those who seeks his aid."[176]

The missionaries of Balasore thus devoted on the average one hour daily in dispensing the medicine. The expenses had been provided by the benevolent Christians of India and abroad. The missionary Society partly paid for the expenses of the medical work.

The missionary medical work and services served as a powerful and effective evangelizing factor for converting non-Christians to the fold of Christianity. Such works by them had produced positive effects in favour of the spread of Christianity all over the World. Initially, medical services rendered by the missionaries created hostility among non-Christians, but subsequently they were universally accepted and appreciated by all quarters, which became helpful for further spread of Christianity and evangelizing activity in the non-Christian area. The humanitarian medical services also helped to ward off several old prejudices and superstitions prevailing among the non-Christians. The medical services were one among the four organisational methods such as, preaching, teaching, and distribution of sacred Scriptures used for converting non-Christians into Christianity in Orissa by the missionaries.

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The Princely States situated between the Mahanadi delta and the Central Provinces were as follows :—
(1) Mayurbhanj, (2) Keonjhar, (3) Nilgiri, (4) Banki, (5) Dashpalla, (6) Narsinghpur, (7) Angul, (8) Talcher, (9) Athaghar, (10) Khandpara, (11) Nayagarh, (12) Ranpur, (13) Hindol, (14) Tigiria, (15) Baramba, (16) Dhenkanal and (17) Pallahada.

In 1905, five States, Bamara, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi were added from the Central Province and two Gangapur and Bonai from the Chotanagpur States.

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3. "Narrative of the First Establishment of this Society."
Periodical Accounts Relative to the B. M. Society, Vol. 1 No. 1 (Clipstone, 1800), pp. 2-5 ;
B. H. Badley, Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume (Lucknow, 1876), p. 10 ;
Rufus Anderson, History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in India (Boston, 1874), pp. 29, 38 ;
James Peggs, A Brief History of Rise and Progress of the General Baptist Mission in Orissa (London, 1846), p, 145 ;

The Baptist Missionary Society was established in 1792 at Kettering through the efforts of William Carey. The Baptists who organised this Society were the Particular Baptists who believed that Christ died for the elect few. The headquarters of the Society was transferred from Kettering to London in 1819. Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) was its first Secretary from 1793-1815.

4. Peggs, Rise and Progress.........
op. cit., p. 146 ;
The General Baptists who believed that Christ died to save all men, formed the Society in 1816. Rev, G. J. Pike was its first Secretary. The Society's base of operation was Orissa.

5. A. C. Underwood, A History of the English Baptists (London, 1947), p. 201.

6. C. H. Swavely (Ed), The Luthern Enterprise in India, 1706-1952 (India, 1952), p. 144 ;

Pastor Christian Jensen, was the founder of the Schleswig—Holstein Evangelical Luthern Mission, or the Breklum Mission.

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7. "Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission for 1847."
The Oriental Baptist, Vol. II, No. 21, Sept. 1848, p. 271 ;
"The Orissa Mission" The Oriental Baptist, Vol. XIII,
Jan, 1859, p. 11 ;
Amos Sutton, Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Mission at Orissa. (Boston, 1833), p. 7.
8. L.S.S,O' Malley, Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer-Cuttack, 2nd edition by E.R.J.R. Cousins, (Patna, 1933), p. 52 ;
L.E.B. Cobden-Ramsay, Bengal Gazetteer-Feudatory States of Orissa (Calcutta, 1910), pp, 110, 242 ;
M.A. Sherring, The History of Protestant Missions in India (London, 1875), pp. 135-136 ;
Amos Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization (Derb, y, 1850), pp. 293-296 ;
Peggs, Rise and Progress......op. cit., pp. 258, 270 ; Underwood, op. cit., p. 155.
9. W. Francis, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series-Madras, Vol, I (Calcutta, 1908), p. 200 ;
The Baptist Mission started operation at Berhampur in 1825. Roman Catholics began work in the Ganjam district in 1768 and had its Head Quarters at Surada (1853)
Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 300-302 ;
Peggs, Rise and Progress......op. cit., pp. 275-276 ;
P.K. Patra, Odisar Baptist Mission
Societra karya, 1822-1942 (Cuttack, 1943) pp. 82, 88-92 ;
C. Silvester Home, Story of the L.M.S. 1795-1895, (London), p. 117 ;
The Rev. Lee and his wife were the first to occupy Ganjam.
10. Julius Richter, A History of Missions in India (Edinburgh and London, 1908), p. 22 ;
L.S.S. O'Malley, B.D.G. Balasore (Cuttack, 1907), p. 55 ;
Sherring, The History of Protestant Missions in India, op. cit., p. 137 ;
Dana M. Albaugh, Between Two Centuries—A Study of Four Baptist Mission Fields, Assam, South India, Bengal-Orissa and South-China (Philadelphia, 1935) pp. 137-140 ;
Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 297-98.
11. Sutton, Ibid. p. 302 ;
Mary Phillips, Missionary to the Children of India (London, 1898), p. 9 ;
Albaugh, Between Two Centuries, op. cit., p. 135.
12. Catholic Directory of India, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 38, 135. Cobden —Ramsay, Feudatory States...op. cit., p. 242 ;

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Nilamani Senapati & N.K. Sahu, (Ed.) Orissa District Gazetteers-Mayurbhanj (Cuttack, 1967), p. 128 ;
W.W. Hunter, Orissa, Vol. II (London, 1872), p. 144.

13. Catholic Directory...op. cit., pp. 135-136 ;
Stephen Neill, The Story of Christian Church in India and Pakistan (Madras, 1972), p. 115.

13-A. The Mayurbhanj Chronicle Vol.V, No. 4, July 4, 1936 Baripada. 'The Evangelical Missionary Society in Mayurbhanj and its Founder' by co-workers, pp. 20-22.

14. Swavely (Ed.), Luthern Enterprise...op. eit , pp. 146-147 ;
R.C.S. Bell, Orissa District Gazetteer Koraput (Cuttack, 1945), p. 60 ;
D.F. Carmichael, The Vizagpatam District Manual (Madras, 1869), p. 61 ;
Directory of Churches and Missions in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon (1947-1949), p. 178.

15. Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., pp. 333, 354.

16, Peggs, Ibid, p, 336.

17. C. W. Ranson, The Christian Minister in India (London, 1946), p, 120.

18. B.M.S. Mss. Marshman to his parents August 17,1800, quoted in The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793-1833 by K. P. Sen-gupta, p. 81 ;

The Serampore Missionaries too preferred to settle in the territory directly ruled by the British. They felt secure due to the British rule in India. This is clear from one of his letters of J. Marshman to his parents. He wrote, "It is true that the Europeans are Lords of the country and not a dog dare move his finger scarcely against one of them."

In Orissa the missionaries were never injured or threatened by the natives except occasionally when the natives threw stones and cow dungs at them when the former criticised the Hindu Gods and Goddess publicly.

19. W W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVIII, Cuttack and Balasore (London, 1877), pp. 19-20:

Cuttack, the central district of the Orissa Commissionership or Division is situated between 20° 1′ 5 ″ and 20° 10′ 10″ north latitude and between 85° 35′ 4 ″ and 7° ′ 30″ east longitude;
Sutton, Orissa and its······op. cit., p. 291 ;
The Calcutta Christian Observer Vol. X, No. 120, Dec 1849, p. 539.

20. Andrew Stirling, Orissa...its Ceography, Statistics, History, Religion and Antiquities, (Calcutta, 1904), p. 36.

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The town of Puri owes its size and importance entirely to its connection with the Jagannath Temple ;
W.W. Hunter, Statistical Account of the District of Puri, Vol. XIX (London, 1877) p. 17. Puri forms the Southern District of the Orissa Commissionership or Division. It is situated between 19° 27′ 40″ and 20° 26′ 20″ north latitude, and between 85° 0′ 26″ and 86° 28′ 0″ East longitude.

21. Thomas H. Stacy, Life of Otis Robinson Bachelor Missionary to India (Boston, 1904), pp. 74-75 ;
Hunter, Statistical Account...Vol. XVIII, op. cit., p. 247 ;
Balasore is situated between 20° 43′ 50″ and 21° 56′ 30″ North latitude and between 86° 18′ 40″ and 87° 31′ 20″ East longitude.
22. The C.C.O., Vol. VIII, No. 80, Aug, 1846, p. 529 ; Stacy, op. cit., pp. 136-137.
"The Santals"
23. The C.C.O., Vol. XV, No. 176 (N. S.) Vol. XXIII, No. 267 (O.S.), Aug, 1854, p. 337 ;
"Santal Schools",
The Christian Spectator. Vol. III, No. 27, Sept, 1873 (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 81-82.
24. "Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission for 1847." The Oriental Baptist, Vol. II, No. XXI, Sept, 1848, p. 271.
25. History of the Early B. M. S. (a pamphlet) p. 17 ;
D. F. Carmichael (Ed.) A Manual of the District of Vizagapatam in the Presidency of Madras (Madras, 1869), p. 354 ;
P. A., Vol. VI, No. 33, (Bristol, 1817), p. 316.
26. Peggs, op. cit., p. 153.
27. Peggs, Rise and Progress......op. cit., pp. 153-154.
28. Ibid. p. 154.
29. Indian Report of B.M.S, for North India and Orissa for the year 1895, p. 3 ;
Peggs, op. cit., pp. 328-329 ;
Richter, op cit., p. 295.
30. Peggs, Rise and Progress...op. cit., p. 270.
31. Peggs, Rise and Progress...pp. 273, 328, 330 ;
Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 296, 394.
32. The Encyclopaedia of Missions, (Board of Editors) (London, 1904), p. 67,

The constitution and organisation of the B, M. S. were very simple, Pastors of churches who made an annual contribution, and Ministers who collected funds for Society were entitled to become members of the Society. Any of the Christians who

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believed in the objects of the Society and was willing to subscribe to its funds, was entitled to become a member. The affairs of the Society were conducted by a committee which met every month. The Secretary and the Treasurer of the Society were elected at a public meeting held annually.

33. 'Hardship of Missionary Labours in India' Quarterly papers, General Baptist Missionary Society, March, 1829, No. 44, (Derby, 1829), p. 3 ;
W. J. Henderson, "Holding the ropes, the Centenary Volume of the B. M. Society, 1792-1892", edited by John Brown Myers (London, 1892), p. 8 ;
S. P. Carey, William Carey (London, 1934), p. 44 ;
Thomas and Carey were the first Protestant Englishmen to voyage to the Indian Empire ;
William Carey (1761-1834), He was a cobbler, joined the Baptist in 1783, and arrived in Bengal in 1793. He was a Professor of Fort William College in 1801. He died in 1834 ;
John Thomas (1757-1801) was the first colleague of Carey. He was a Surgeon ;
C. B. Lewis, The Life of John Thomas (London, 1873), pp. 42-43 ; Sengupta, op. cit., p. 30.
34. Carey, Marshman and Ward of the Serampore Mission were called the Serampore Trio.
35. Joshua Marshman (1768-1837), one of the Serampore missionaries arrived in 1799 and went directly to Serampore, the Danish settlement in order to avoid banishment from the English territory. He translated with Carey the Ramayan in English.
36. William Ward, (1769-1823) was a printer. He established the Serampore press.
37. Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society Vol. III. No. XVIII, 1806 Dunstable, p. 472.
38. Ibid., p. 473.
39. Ibid., p. 474.
40. Ibid., p. 475.
41. The History of the Early B. M. S., op. cit., p. 18.
42. P. A. Vol. IV, No. XX, pp. 13-19 ;
P. A. Vol. IV, No. XXI, p. 123 ;
Sutton, Evangelization......op. cit., p. 296.
43. John Peter, was one of the converts of the Serampore missionaries. He had been called an Armenian, but that was not correct. His complexion was singularly black, and his father was a native from

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the Malabar coast, who, having worked as a servant to an Armenian had been induced to join the religious community to which his master belonged. John Peter was addicted to drunkenness, but a striking change was manifested in his life after his contact with the Serampore missionaries.

44. P.A. Vol. IV. No. XXI, p. 109;
P.A. Vol. IV No. XXI, Letter to ward, pp. 123-124.
45. P.A. Ibid, p. 125.
46. P.A. Ibid, p. 126.
47. Ibid., p. 127.
48. Ibid., Orissa—John Peter to Ward, Balasore, April 22, p. 156.
49. P. A. Vol. IV. No. XX, 1810, Orissa Mission; Peter to ward, Nov., 10, 1810, p. 260.
P. A. Vol. IV, No. XXIII, 1810, Orissa Mission, Peter to Ward, Balasore, Dec., 20, p. 415.
50. Ibid, p. 407.
51. P. A., Vol. IV. No. XXI, Peter to Ward, p. 167;
P. A., Vol. IV, No. XXII, 1810, Orissa Mission, p. 259;
History of the Early B. M. S. Stations, op. cit., p. 10.
52. P. A. Vol. IV, No. XXI, p. 157;
Smith and Green spoke to the Sepoys and persuaded them to meet Peter;
P. A. Vol. IV, No. XXII, 1810, Orissa Mission, ward to Peter, p. 261.
53. The Missionary Herald, No. LXXI, New Series, Nov., 1, 1862 (London, 1862).
The first Baptism was of Europeans, but in January, 1811, Niranjan, a *Bairagi* was Baptised.
54. General Baptist Repository and Missionary Observer, Feb., 1852, p. 53;
History of Early B.M.S. (a pamphlet) op. cit., p. 20
55. Ibid., p. 24;
John Cliford, The Orissa Mission, op. cit., p. 243.
56. J. Hoby, Memoir of William Yates, (London, 1847), pp. 1-16;
Yates, W. (1792-1848) a Linguist, Secretary of the Calcutta School Book Society.
57. History of the Early B.M.S., op. cit., p. 23.
58. The Orissa Historical Research Journal Vol. IX, No. I and II, April and July, 1960;
(Reprints from A Sketch of the History of Orissa from 1803-1828 by G. Toynbee), pp. 88, 121, 140, 145, 151;
I. G. I., Vol. XX, p. 401;

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Translation of Oriya Letter of Jagabandhu, Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. I, No. II, p. 164 ;
O. H. R. J., Vol. III, No. IV, pp. 2-3 ;
P. Mukherjee, History of Orissa, Vol. VI.
(Bhubaneswar, 1964), pp. 88-151 ;

B. C. Ray, Foundation of British Orissa (Cuttack, 1960) pp. 257-289 ;

It was the *Paiks* of Orissa who mainly participated in the rebellion and hence it was known as the Paik Rebellion. The Paiks had constituted the standing army of the independent kings of Orissa all along. In 1817, the Paiks rose in open rebellion against the oppressions suffered at the hands of the underlings to whom was entrusted the collection of the revenue, and also against the tyrannies of venal police. The imposition of Bengal Revenue Regulation, replacement of Oriya Zamindars by non-Oriyas especially the Bengalis, deterioration of the economic condition of the Oriya Zamindars and the peasants, the exploitation of the official staff, the rising of prices of necessaries of life were responsible for a crisis which emerged in the form of Paik Rebellion under the leadership of Boxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar Bhramarbor Roymohanpatra, the Commander of troops of the Raja of Khurda ;

Hermann Kulke, "Kings without A Kingdom ; The Rajas of Khurda and the Jagannath Cult", South Asia, No. IV, Oct., 1974 (Australia, 1974) pp. 72-73.

59. "First Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission" ;
The Calcutta Missionary Herald, Vol. II, No. 17, May, 1841, p. 53 ;
The Missionary Herald, No LXXI, op. cit., p. 161.
60. Peggs, Rise and Progress......op. cit , p. 328.
61. Aloysius Soares—The Catholic Church in India (Nagpur, 1964) pp. 139-142 ;
W. Francis M. D. G. Vizagapatam (Madras, 1907), p. 63.
62. Francis, Ibid, p. 63 ;
The Madras Catholic Directory and General Annual Register for the year of our Lord 1902 (Madras, 1902), p. 85.
63. Hunter, Statistical Account...Vol. XVIII, op. cit., p. 351.
64. Nilamani Senapati and N. K. Sahu (ed.),
Orissa District Gazetteers, Mayurbhanj (Cuttack, 1967), p. 128 ;
Cobden Ramsay, op cit., p. 242 ;
The Mayurbhanj Chronicle, Vol. V, No. IV, July, 1936, Baripada, p. 20.
65. The Madras Catholic Directory...op. cit., p.89.

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66. W.W. Hunter, Orissa, Vol. II-(London, 1872) p. 144. Sutton, Evangelization···, op. cit., p. 107 ; Patra, op. cit., pp. 23, 39 ; C.C.O. Vol. XIV, No. 164 (N.S.) Vol. XX'I, No. 255 (O.S.) Aug., 1833, P. 361.
67. The Mayurbhanj Chronicle, Vol. V, No. II, op. cit., p. 21.
68. Ibid. p. 21 ; It managed one Leper Asylum for which the Government assisted financially. Some educational institutional were opened.
69. The Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. II, May, 1872, p. 403. Albaugh, op. cit., p.131.
70. Ibid, p. 132 ;
C.C,O., Vol. V, March, 1836, p. 157.
71. Sutton, Evangelization···, op. cit., p. 296;
Helen Barrett Montgomery, Following the Sunrise—A Century of Baptist Mission, 1813-1913 (Philadelphia, 1913) p. 133.
72. Peggs, Rise and Progress...op. cit., p. 270 ; Albaugh, op. cit., p.135
73. Ibid., p. 140.
74. Peggs, op. cit., p. 335.
75. "New Chapel at Balasore", C.C.O., Vol. VIII, No. 84, May, 1839, p. 295 ; The Natives gave sixty rupees for the erection of a new chapel.
Oriental Baptist, Vol. V, June, 1851, p. 172.
76. Albaugh, op. cit., pp. 131, 155.
77. The C. M. H., Vol. I, No. IV, April, 1840, p. 48 ; Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., pp. 328, 349 ; Albaugh, op. cit., pp. 133, 135, 148 ; Sutton Orissa and its...p. 104.
78. The C. M.H. Vol. I, No. IX, Sept., 1840, p. 145 ; Mary Phillips, op. cit., p. 10.
79. Stacy, op. cit., p. 180 ;
Bachelor married S.P. Meril on Feb., 26, 1847.
80. The Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. II, May, 1872, op. cit., pp. 403-404 ; The Christian Spectator, Vol. IV, No. 45, op. cit., p. 343.
81. "The A.F.B.M. in Orissa"
The Oriental Baptist, Vol. V, June, 1851, p. 172 ;
82. "First Report of the O.B.M" ;
The C.M.H. Vol. II, No. XVII May, 1841, p. 53.
83. The Indian Report of the B. M. S. in North India for 1891 (Calcutta, 1892), p. 68.
84. Rev. George Howells, "The Puri Car Festival", Missionary Herald, Oct., 1, 1898, p. 475 ;
Peggs, Rise and Progress···op. cit., p. 268.
85. "The Annual Conference of the Orissa Missionaries", The Oriental Baptist Vol. II, No. XVII, May, 1848 ; "Extracts from the Indian

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Report of the O.B.M.S. for 1863-64" C.C.O., Vol. XXV, No. 296 (Old series), August, 1864, p. 360.

86. The Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. II, op. cit., p. 407 ; The Indian Report of the B.M.S....for 1893, op. cit., p. 15.

87. The C.C.O. Vol. XIV, No. 163 (New Series), or Vol, XXII, No. 254 (Old Series), pp. 308, 313 ; The C.C.O. Vol. XXV No. 296 (Old Series), op. cit., p. 259.

88. Robert Lee Lacey, The Holy Land of the Hindus (London, 1913), p. 46 ; "The Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission for 1859-60", The Oriental Baptist, Vol. XIV, July, 1860, p. 216.

89. The Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. II, op. cit., pp. 407-408 ; The Indian Baptist, Vol, IV, No. 37, January, 1885, p. 32.

90. The Indian Baptist, Vol. IV, No. 37, Jan., 1885, p. 32 ; The Indian Baptist, Vol. IV No. 39, March, 1885, pp. 110-111 : The Indian Baptist, Vol. IV, No. 44 Aug., 1885, p. 314 ; The Christian Spectator, Vol. I No. II, op. cit., p. 403.

91. "Early Missionary Union in Calcutta", The C.C.O., Vol. XIII, No. 269 (N. S.) May, 1862, p. 219.

92. PP., HC., Vol. 49, 1874, Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Materials Progress and Condition of India, p. 253 ; Richter, op. cit., p. 214 ; The Catholic Pressbyterian, No. LI, March, 1883, London, pp. 204-207.

93. Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit.. pp. 147-149 ; John Cliford, "The Orissa Mission", The Centenary Volume...op. cit., pp. 238-241.

94. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 2 ; Peggs, Rise and Progress...op. cit. p. 152.

95. "The Orissa Mission" The Oriental Baptist, Vol. XIII, January, 1859, p. 11 ; Underwood, op. cit., p. 155 ; Lord F. Townley, "Achievement", A Short History of the B.M.S. 1792-1942 (London, 1942), p. 25 ; J. Brown (ed.), The Centenary Volume of the B.M.S. 1792-1892 (London, 1892) p. 242.

96. Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., pp. 321-322 ; Proceedings of the Lt. Governor of Bengal, General (Ecclesiastical Department) Nov., 1870 from J. Buckley and T. Bailey, Baptist Missionary, Cuttack to the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, No. 1, dated 25-10-1870, para-7.

97. Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., p. 204 ; C.C.O. Vol. VII, No. 78, Nov., 1838, p. 638.

98. P.K. Patra, Odisare Baptist Mandalar Karya, (Cuttack, 1943), pp. 56-61, 74 ; Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., p. 109 : The

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Oriental Baptist, Vol. V, July, 1851, p. 199.

99. Peggs, Rise and Progress, p. 363 ; Albaugh, op. cit., pp. 130-131. Some of the early missionaries of the mission were, William Bampton, James Peggs, Charless Lacey, Amos Sutton, J.M. Cropper, William Brown, John Goadby, Issac Stubbins, Miss Kirkman, Henry Wilkinson, William Brook, T. Grant, John Buckley, William Miller, W. Bailley anb Miss Collins. They were the missionaries of G.B.M.S....

100. Stacy, op. cit., p. 111 ; Carey (ed.), The Oriental Biography, Vol. II, p. 265.

101. Stacy, op. cit., p. 123.

102. Peggs, op. cit., p. 264 ; W. H. Carey, (compiled), The Oriental Christian Biography Vol. III (Calcutta, 1850), p. 564.

103. Ibid, p. 264., George Campbell, Modern India (London, 1852), The Serampore Trio even did not abandon 'European life, European habits, and above all European Doctrinal niceties'.

104. W. H. Carey, (compiled). The Oriental Christian Biography, Vol. II, op. cit., pp.264-265. Missionaries, in general had not deemed it advisable Sir John Malcolm in his work memoirs of Central India, considered the question whether such a stephen was lickly to ingratiate a European with the Hindu population and gave his opinion that the effect was unfavourable, rather than deneficial. His remarks on the subject were forwarded to Bampton, but before they arrived Bampton had been led to think it injudicious to continue the practice and had consequently abandoned it.

105. B.M.S. Periodical Accounts, Vol. I, p. 8 ;
The Friend of India, Vol. IV, No. 160, January, 18, 1838 p. 21.

106. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 458 ;
Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (London, 1965), p. 263 ;
The Friend of India Vol. IV, No. 160. op. cit., p. 21 ;
Native Schools and Chapels, were to some extent made use of as preaching stations in the early days of the mission.

107. Quarterly Papers, General Baptist Missionary Society, No. 45, June, 1829 (Derby, 1829), pp. 2-4, Stacy, op. cit., pp. 89, 92 ;
The Indian Report of B.M.S. in Northern India and Orissa for 1895, (Calcutta, 1896) p. 9 ;
Bazar preaching was done by missionaries and native preachers according to a monthly plan.

108. Stacy, op. cit., p. 89 ;
The Friend of India, Vol. IV, No. 172, April 12, 1838, p. 172.

109. Stacy, op. cit., p. 97.
„The Preaching Tour in Orissa" The Missionary Herald, Sept. 1,

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1897, pp. 460-461.

110. Stacy, op. cit., p. 118.

111. Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., pp. 114-115 ;
Native Schools and Chapels were to some extent made use of as preaching Stations in the early days of the mission.
Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., pp. 32, 82 ;
Peggs paid a visit to the Jail and instructed the prisoners on July 24, 1823. There were one hundred and seventy eight prisoners, and in hospital connected with it thirty others ; "Extract from the Indian Report of the A. F. B. M. in Northern Orissa for 1852-53", C. C. O. Vol. XIV, No. 164, (New Series), August, 1853, p. 357 ; "Extract from the Indian Renort for 1851" Oriental Baptist, Vol. VI, July, 1852, p. 238; C.C.O., Vol. VI, March, 1835, p. 138.

112. C.C.O. Vol. XIV, No. 164, (New Series), op. cit., p. 357.

113. The Oriental Baptist, Vol. II, No. 23, Nov., 1848, p. 344; The Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. 3, op. cit., p. 82 ;
At the Car Festival the missionaries and the native preachers divided among themselves and formed some parties. Each party preached in one direction. The Encyclopaedia of Missions, op. cit., p. 403, "The Great Shrine of Jogonnath in 1849", C.C.O. Vol. X, No. 117, (N.S.) Sept., 1849, pp. 402-403 ; "The Rath jatra at Puri," C.C.O. (N.S.), Vol. XII, No, 141, Sept., 1851, pp. 403-405.

114. The London Missionary Society was organised in 1795. Its former name was the Missionary Society. It changed its name to L.M.S. in order to be distinguished from the other local societies.

115. E. Stock, History of the C.M.S. Vol. I, London, 1899 ; The Encyclopaedia of Missions, op. cit., p. 164 ;
The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East was forme in 1799. The Society was originally called the Society for Missions to Africa and the East which was modified to the present name in 1812. As both the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" (1698) and the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. "(1701) were run on high church principles the New Society within the church of England was felt necessary by the Evangelicals. As many of the members of the C.M.S. lived at Clapham, they were known as the Clapham Sect. William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Sir John Shore were some of the important members. H. Thornton was the first Treasurer and J. Venn was the first Chairman of the C.M.S.

116. In the year 1857, Sepoy Mutiny took place in India. In several places of India many missionaries and the native Christians were murdered by the discontented Sepoys. The missionaries of Orissa feared the presence of those discontented Sepoys at the Car Festival.

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116-A. Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. III, Sept., 1871, p. 82.

117. "The Puri Rath Jatra", C.C.O. Vol. XI, No. 130 (New Series), Oct. 1850, pp. 456-58 ; "The great Shrine of Jogonnath", C.C.O., Vol. X ; No. 117, (N. S.), September, 1849, p. 4L4 ;
The missionaries after their preaching appealed to the people that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour.

118. Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization, p. 97 ;
Sutton remarked, "The Mahomedans need no saviour. They can listen to no authority save the Mahomed, and often gnash their teeth with rage at our Mission".
The Oriental Bap.ist, Vol. II, No. 23, Nov. 1848, p. 344 ;
The Christian Spectator Vol. IV, No. 45, March, 1875, p. 343 ;
Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 148.
Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries held at Calcutta, Sept. 4-7, 1855 (Calcutta, 1855). The missionaries of Bengal as well as Orissa during their preaching attacked the Indian religions. In 1855, at a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries it was decided that in furture the missionaries should abandon the method of abusing Hinduism and Islam in their preaching. PP., HC., Vol. VIII, 1812-13, Paper 142, Para 11, p. 82.

119. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 148 ;
Richter, op. cit., p. 185 ;
Stacy op. cit., pp. 99-100.

120. Friend of India (Quarterly) Vol. VI, Sept, 1822, pp. 238, 242, 247 ;
E.D. Potts—British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837 (Cambridge 1967), p. 60 "Hinduism, Budhism and Romanism," T.R. Edwards, The Missionary Herald, April, 1, 1895, pp. 131-132 Quoted in General Baptist Repository and Missionary Observer, Vol. X (Jan., 1831) p. 30.

121. W. H. Carey,
The Oriental Christian Biography, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1822), p. 564.

122. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Vol. VII, No. 24 (London, 1858) p. 452.

123. "A Discourse on the Death of the Rev. C. Lacey", The Oriental Baptist, Jan., 1852, Vol. VI, No, 61, pp. 54-55 ; Carey. (ed.)... Biography, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 265 ; Carey (ed.), Biography, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 565.

124. Oriental Christian Biography, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 564 ; "Indian Report of the O. B. M. for 1847," The Oriental Baptist, Vol. II, No. 21, Sept., 1848, p. 272.

125. Sutton's Narrative......op. cit., p. 89.

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126. Stacy, op. cit., pp. 198. 220-221.
127. "Journal of Missionary Labours in the District of Olassa," The C. C. O., Vol. VIII, No. 82, March, 1839, pp. 144, 149.
128. C. C. O. Vol. VIII, No. 82, op. cit., p. 150 ; The Indian Report of the B. M. S. in North India and Orissa for 1893, (Calcutta, 1894), p. 8.
129. C. C. O., (N. S), Vol. XXV, No. 296, Aug., 1854, p, 352 ; C. C. O., Vol. VIII, No. 82, March. 1839, p. 149 ; Sutton......Evangelization, op. cit., p. 185.
130. Peggs, op. cit., p. 264 ;
Bampton wrote, "I was walking chiefly bare foot and preaching nine hours and three quarters, only stopping a few minutes to eat some biscuits I had with me. I am almost bare foot, partly because it makes me more like the majority of the people; partly because it adds to my hardi-hood and partly because it is very convenient. One is stopped by no short of roads ; and if one is at any time up to the ancles in mud, one is probably soon after upto the Knees in water, out of which I come clean and comfortable, whilst in an English dress all this would be miserable,"
131. Sutton, Evangelization···op. cit., p. 326,
132. Palanquin—A box borne on poles on men's shoulders.
133. Sutton, Evangelization···p. 327,
The furniture of missionaries generally consisted of a cot, chairs, small table, cooking apparatus, knives, forks, plates, spoons etc., a box of books and medicines.
134. Robert Lee Lacey, The Holy Land of the Hindus (London, 1913) p. 172 ;
Missionaries sometimes rode on elephant to sell sacred literature and preach Christianity.
Sutton, Evangelization.···, pp. 326-27.
135. Mare Phillips, Missionary to the Children of India (London 1898), p. 118.
136. Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., p. 328.
137. Barbara M. Boal—The Church in the Kond Hills (India, 1963) P. 59 ;
Stacy, op. cit., p. 65 ; Sutton's Narrative, op. cit. pp. 28, 367.
138. The C. C. O., Vol, XXIV, No. 284, Aug., 1863, p. 342 ;
The Indian Report of B. M. S. for 1891 (Calcutta, 1892) p. 120 ;
Caste, custom, caution stood as obstacle before the missionaries to infuse Christianity to the natives.
139. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., pp. 178-179 ;
C. C. O., Vol. X, No. 117, Sept., 1849, p. 404 ;
"The Puri Car Festival," C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. XIII, No. 153, p. 392,

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140. The Missionary Herald, No. CCVII, (New Series), May 1, 1868, p. 78.
141. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 175.
142. Ibid., pp. 178-79.
143. "Results and Prospects of Mission in India," The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Vol. VII, No. XXIV (London, 1858), p. 448.
144. Ibid., p. 448.
145. "The Santals", C. C. O. Vol. XV, No. 176, Aug., 1854, pp. 343-44.
146. Rev. Samuel Vincent, "India and Ceylon", The Centenary Volume..., op. cit., p. 64 ;
The Encyclopaedia of Missions, op. cit., p. 107 ;
The British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804. Lord Teignmouth was the First President and H. Thornton its first Treasurer. The object of the Society was to encourage the circulation of Bible throughout the world. The Society also financed to the translation of Bible into the different languages of the world ;
Rufus Anderson, History of the Mission of the American Board of commissioners for Foreign Missions in India (Boston, 1874), p. 38 ;
The Indian Report of the B. M. S. in North India and Orissa for 1892 (Calcutta,), p. 103.
147. "Orissa Mission, "The Missionary Herald (N. S.) No. LXXI (London, 1862), p. 162.
148. The Encyclopaedia of Missions, op. cit., p. 622 ;
The Religious Tract Society was formed in 1799. The object of the Society was to print and distribute Christian religious tracts. The Society through agents granted money to the various Missionary Societies and Local Tract Societies of different parts of the world.
149. James S. Dennis, Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions (New York, 1902), p. 54 ; Richter, op. cit., p. 95.
150. The Missionary Herald, June 1, 1881, p. 215 ; Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., pp. 34-35 ;
Bampton wrote, "I seldom give them unless they ask for them, and not them, if they read badly".
Peggs wrote, "These distributions, we trust will prepare our way, when we are able to itinerate ; and I have adopted the plan of keeping an account of the persons' names, and books given."
151. "The Preaching Tour in Orissa", The Missionary Herald, September 1, 1897, pp. 162-63 ;

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Fourth Report of operations in translating, printing and circulating the sacred Scriptures in the languages in India by Calcutta Baptist Missionaries (Calcutta, 1840), p. 51 ;
J. Phillips recorded that at Jaleswar people demanded both Bengali and Oriya Scriptures.

152. The Christian Spectator, Vol. I, No. 3, op. cit., p. 86 ; "The Puri Car Festival."
The Missionary Herald, Oct., 1, 1898.
At the Car Festivals the Missionaries in spite of the opposition of the Pandas sold the Tracts at a very low price.

153. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 464 ;
(quoted in) Sengupta, op. cit., p. 87.

154. John Murdoch, Catalogues of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India with hints on the management of Indian Tract Society (Madras, 1870), pp. 10-11 ;
Upto 1823 the Missionary Societies received Tracts from England. In 1823, the missionaries of the B. M. S., L.M.S., and C.M.S. formed a "Religious Tract Society" in Calcutta, as a branch of the London Religious Tract Society. In 1827, the name was changed to the "Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society."

155. "Translation and Literary work",
The Missionary Herald, May 1, 1895, pp. 180-181.

156. See Appendix 'B'

157. "Visits from a Oriya *Guru*,"
Christian Spectator, Vol. V, No. 58, April, 1876, p. 392.

158. "Report of the Printing and Distribution of Religious Tracts for 1828,"
Supplementary Number of the Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission (Serampore, 1829), p. 206 ;
Fifteen thousand Tracts were brought from Serampore for distribution. In 1828, the Serampore missionaries printed twenty two thousand tracts in Oriya for the Orissa missionaries ;
Peggs, op. cit., p. 233 ;
In 1835, twenty eight thousand tracts were distributed ;
"First Report of the Orissa Mission,"
The Friend of India, Vol. VII, No. 339, July 1, 1841 ;
In 1835 twenty eight thousand tracts were distributed. In 1840, one thousand and fifty of New Testament in Oriya, eleven thousand Gospels and Seventy two thousand tracts have been printed besides school books ;
Before 1841, fifty thousand copies of tracts and Gospels in Oriya were distributed.
The Oriental Baptist, Vol. IV, Aug., 1850, page 248 ;

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During the year forty thousand tracts have been printed ; The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXXII, June, No. LXIV, 1859 (Serampore, 1859), p. LXV (Critical notes).

By 1858, missionaries in Orissa within twenty years printed and circulated in Oriya nine lakhs fifty two thousand and seven hundred tracts besides one Lakh Scripture portions.
Missionary Herald, May 1, 1895, op. cit., p. 180 ;

In 1894, thirty six thousand Scripture portions and seventy two thousand tracts and books were printed.

159. "The Orissa Mission", The Oriental Baptist, Vol. IV, August, 1850, p. 241 ;

Tracts were misused in various ways by various persons. Respectable and literate Hindus, especially Bengalee pilgrims tore the tracts which they used to get at Car Festivals. Some tore the tracts out of their illiteracy. The illiterate Oriyas mis used the tracts written in other languages as they were unintelligible. Children used the tracts for kite.

160. "Brief Memoir of the Rev. A. Sutton,"
C. C. O. (New Series), Vol. XV, No. 178, October, 1854, pp. 468-476 ;

The name of Nistar Ratnakar in Bengali was 'Susamachar Dutta' and written by Ramram Basu. It was edited in 1827.

161. "Brief sketch of the Life and Death of Rev. C. Lacey," C. C. O. (N.S.), Vol. XIII, No. 147, March, 1852, p. 100 ;
"The Oriya Scriptures," C. C. O., Vol. XV, No. 172 (N. S.), or Vol. XXIII, No. 263 (O. S.), April, 1854, pp. 149-151 ;
"Brief Memoir of the Rev. A. Sutton,"
C. C. O., Vol. XV, No. 178 (N. S.), Vol. XXIII, No. 269 (O. S.), October, 1854, pp. 472-75 ;
"Death of Mukund Das of Orissa,"
The Missionary Herald, March 1, 1895, p. 95.

162. The C. C. O., Vol. XV, No. 178 (New Series), op. cit., p. 473.

163. The C. C. O., Vol. XV, No. 172 (N. S.), Vol. XXIII, No. 263, (O. S.), op. cit., p. 149 ;
Sherring, op. cit., p. 137 ;
P. K. Patra, op. cit., p. 177 ;

In 1838, the Orissa Mission Press was established at Cuttack and it was named Mission Press after the Orissa Mission.
Sutton, Evangelization,......op. cit., p. 319.

64, Sutton, Evangelization......op. cit., p. 319 ; Peggs, op. cit., p. 316.

165. "Brief Memoir of the Rev. A. Sutton,"
C. C. O. (New Series), Vol. XV, No. 178, Oct., 1854, p. 447.

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166. The C. C. O. Vol. XV, No. 172, (N. S.) Vol. XXIII, No, 263 (O. S.) April, 1854 ; The Oriya Scriptures, pp. 149-50.
167. F. A. Cox, History of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792-1842) Vol. I (London, 1842), p. 210 ;
The History of the Early B. M. S. Stations, op. cit., p. 17 ;
The Missionary Herald, No. LXXI (N. S.), Nov., 1, 1862 (London, 1862), p. 161 ;
J. S. M. Hooper, The Bible in India (Oxford, 1938), p. 107.
167-A Richter, op. cit., p. 290.
168. Richter, op. cit., p. 289.
169. Ibid., p. 109 ; Richter, op. cit., p. 290.
170. Ibid ; Hooper, op. cit., p. 109.
171. David B. Smith, Report on Pilgrimage to Jaggernauth in 1868 (Calcutta, 1868), p. 41.
172. Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., p. 313 ;
James S. Denis, Christian Missions and Social Progress, Vol. III (Edinburgh, 1899), p. 232 ;
He quoted, "From the Missionary Herald of B. M. S., April, 1904, page, 182 ;
The view of a English Baptist Medical Missionary who regarded the medical service as "the most potent agency working in India today, for the breaking down of caste prejudice and superstitions."
G. B. Repository and Missionary Observer, Vol. XI (Oct., 1832) p. 395 ;
In case of death of a patient the missionaries were criticised by the people and they used to say "you are nothing and your medicine nothing".
173. "Orissa, English and American Baptist Missions-Report of 1847", The Friend of India, Vol. XIV. No. 722, November, 2, 1848, p. 682 ; Stacy, op. cit., pp. 80.
174. Ibid, pp. 83-84 ;
Balasore dispensary was established in 1840, and was discontinued in 1860 as at Balasore Government established a hospital. During the said period 2200 patients in average were treated annually. In 1850, 2407 patients were treated with 126 surgical operations and 12 chloroform operations.
175. Ibid., pp. 78, 183. ;
"Extract from the Indian Report of the A. F. B. M. in North Orissa for the year ending April 1, 1855" ;
C. C. O., Vol. XVI, No. 188, Aug., 1855, p. 393 ;
The Orissa Mission, John Cliford, Centenary Volume, op. cit., p. 237.
176. Ibid., p. 81.

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2

The Role of Early Converts From 1822-1846

The Christian missionaries of various denominations worked in Orissa with the primary motive of evangelizing the "Hindus" and the Muslims to Christianity. The missionaries of both the denominations after much discussions thought to have an Academy[1] for the teaching of the preachers and evangelists. The Academy at Cuttack was opened with eight students[2] on January 1, 1846. Thus, from the date of establishment of the mission stations in Orissa in 1822 to the commencement of the Mission Academy in 1846, the missionaries of Baptist denomination converted as many as one thousand natives.[3] In 1845, the number of native Christians with the B. M. S. stations was not less than one thousand as Cuttack alone had eight hundred and sixteen native Christians. The A. F. B. M. S. in connection with its stations had one hundred converts during the period under review. The Roman Catholic Mission established its station at Cuttack in 1850 and so they had achieved little during the same period.[4]

The Baptist missionaries converted the Christians of other denominations to their fold. They made conversions from various racial groups—Europeans, Eurasians, Armenians, Portuguese and Indians without distinguishing one from the other.[5] The missionaries converted to Baptist faith were F. Rennel. De. Santos, De Souza and others, from among the Indo British stock who were the descendant of the Portuguese.[6]

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The missionaries considered that they were the "first fruit" of Orissa unto God.[7] F. Rennel, the son of a Catholic engineer, became Protestant (Baptist) on 27th April, 1823, to marry a protestant girl.[8]

On December 24, 1826, three persons were baptised at Cuttack. One of them was a Jew ; another was the wife of Abraham, the native preacher and the third was a Catholic Portuguese teacher, named Sundar. The wife of Abraham was a Catholic.[9]

The Serampore Baptist missionaries sent John Peter to Orissa in 1807 and he baptised a Hindu named Jaganath Mukhurjya at Balasore in 1814.[10] Prior to that he converted some European army officials to the Baptist faith.[11] The General Baptists in Orissa after six years exertion baptised a *Brahmin* in 1828 named Gangadhar Sarangi[12] and the A. F. B. missionaries baptised four persons at Balasore and Jalesore for the first time, from the natives, though they had made several conversions from among the Indo-British and Europeans.[13] The first convert of the A. F. B. M. was Chakradhar, *Khandayat*[14] by caste. Conversions were made both among the people of British Orissa was concerned, the number of converts were more in Cuttack district followed by that of Puri and Balasore.[15] There were Christian converts in the Tributary States of Athgarh, Mayurbhanja and Nilagiri. Athagarh was the only Tributary State which had a large number of converts[16] during the period under review. One of the interesting features was almost all the earliest converts belonged to the rural areas ; for example, Gangadhar Sarangi belonged to Kujibar, Rama Chunderji Jachuck to Bhairpore, Hari Padhi, Bamadev Sahoo, Trilochan, Parsu Rout to Choga of Athagarh State and Lukhin Das to Olassa in Madhupur.[17]

Initially every conversion was a very significant event for the mission as it has been mentioned in detail in mission reports. The native converts have given interesting accounts about the circumstances of their conversion in their respective

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dialects which were subsequently translated into English by the missionaries who sent those to England.[18]

The early converts to Orissa were men of 'Caste, credit and consideration.' Most of them were high caste Hindus, such as, *Brahmins*, *Khandayats*, *Karanas* (writer),[19] astrolegers, farmers and weavers etc. Very few native converts belonged to the low caste. Most of the converts of the American Freewill Baptist were the tribal people, mainly the Santals, free from rigid caste rule. That the early Oriya converts were men of good social status was in fact not only admitted by the missionaries, but by the natives too.[20]

In the history of Orissa Mission, Sadhu Sundar Das, a *Guru*[21], occupied an important place, as most of the earliest native converts were his disciples. His disciples were the first to embrace Christianity and to preach Christianity. In Bengal too, the first convert to the Serampore mission was a disciple of Ramdulal, the *Guru* of that sect, Most of the *Bairagee* converts belonged to that sect. Similarly, in Orissa, some Hindus had left the ancient form of idolatory and formed a sect under Sadhusundar Das's guidance and later on embraced Christianity.[22]

Sadhusundar Das, the old '*Guru*', a man of Kumarpur, a village of Athagarh State, was born in 1720 A. D. and died in 1838 A. D. He was the first theistic reformer of nineteenth century, For some years he served in the Raja's militia and later on left it.[23] He established an '*Ashram*' at Kujibar, near Choudwar.[23-A] 8 miles from Cuttack and accepted disciples without the distinction of caste, creed and sex. His name and fame spread as a great Hindu scholar in the Vedas, the Vedanto and the Upanishadas. His sermons and preachings of Hindu Scriptures had startled many missionaries of Orissa and Central Provinces, which were recorded in the missionaries' reports and Journals printed and published in London. His moral instruction were very rigid which he enforced among his disciples.[24] The Sadhu preached against causing any injury to the animal

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life. He expounded a Code of Practical Morality consisting of principles like truth-speaking, non-stealing, non-adultery, non-violence, frankness and pride, pardoning the sinners, love for wife and children, reverence to parents, avoidance of giving false witnesses, avoidance of cheating and defrauding others, respect to all others as equals, service to the aged and to men as service to God.[25]

Sadhu gave examples from the life and teachings of Jesus Christ too. To his disciples he told that Christ was incomparably superior to any of the Gods of the Hindus. He narrated the miracles of Jesus Christ to his disciples.[26]

The *Ashram* of Sadhusundar was a *Vedantic* school where five hundred disciples read the *Vedas*, *Puranas* and other Hindu Scriptures. Nearly three hundred *Brahmins* and two hundred pupils of other castes were his disciples. He also showed some miracles to his disciples.[27]

When printing press and news printing were unknown in Orissa, when Raja Ram Mohan Ray published '*Sambad-Kaumudi*' in Calcutta for expounding Universal religion and Hindu Theism, Mahatma Sadhusundar of Orissa published a manuscript newspaper called *Kujibar Patra*,[28] which dealt with socio-religious problems and matters relating to the administration. He was helped in that matter by his disciples Gangadhar Sarangi and Ramachundraji Jachuck. Before its publication it was widely discussed among the teachers and students of the *Vedantic* school. Those were written by hand and widely circulated. Some importans portions were pasted in the walls of the important places too. It was published monthly, weekly and daily depending on the circumstances. The missionaries sent some important portions of the paper to London.[29]

In the year 1827, Sutton sent some portions of *Kujibar Patra* to London, in which Sadhu's opinion on socio-religious problems was reflected. In that paper he had asked the British rulers what they had done for the education of Oriyas that would lead to obey the commands of God ?[30]

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In another place he remarked that Puri was the place of Heaven for the Hindus, but people there committed adultery, told lies, deceived the pilgrims, "Was it the religion of Jagannath ?" Another interesting question of the Sadhu was regarding idols and pilgrimages. The name of the Gods and Goddesses were many. To see the God and Goddesses people went on piligrimages and were becoming penni-less. In the piligrimages they suffered a lot. Another interesting remark of the *Guru* published in the *Kujibar Patra*, related to the Law of God. He asked the British Government that they had made rules and regulations for the better administration of the country and people "but what rules they had made for the moral improvement of the people ?"[31]

Sadhusundar was an educationalist too. He appealed to the British Government and missionaries to open *Vedic* schools to impart proper Vedic education to the *Brahmins*. The Baptist missionaries in Orissa had consulted Sadhusundar in connection with the opening of rural educational institutions in Orissa in 1826. According to C. Lacey's report, the proposal came from the Government, through the Baptist missionaries who were pioneers of education at that time in Bengal, to appoint Sundar *Babaji* as the Superintendent of education, having control over primary education.[32]

Sadhusundar was a social reformer too. He did not believe in caste and respected all the religions. Though he was a Hindu, he explained before his disciples the doctrines of other religions too. Before his disciples he explained the contents of some of the tracts of the missionaries minutely. On "*Dasa Agyan*" (Ten Commandments), a tract, he said "What have you got here ? Here is the essence of all truths : This is the living *Shastra*."[32-A] He was interested in the Ten Commandments and formulated "*Dasa Agyan*" for his disciples. Shortly afterwards some of the followers of Sadhusundar came to Cuttack and received more tracts and a New Testament. The books were welcomed by the old *Guru* since they confirmed and

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carried out the doctrines which he had taught, for example, folly of idolatry and worship of God.[33]

The missionaries had conversed with the Sadhu regarding untouchability. He was asked as to why it was prevailing in society ? Sadhusundar explained to the missionaries that it was due to the ignorance of the people who were poor in "Bhagabat Yagna."[34]

At the Kujibar *Math*,[35] the *Guru* used to perform two great annual festivals where people irrespective of caste, creed and religion gathered in a large number. Sadhu's invitation to the missionaries to one of the festivals on October 10, 1826 was a landmark in the history of the Orissa Mission. On that occasion Amos Sutton, a missionary observed, "For the missionaries of Orissa, the last three days were most pleasant, delightful and memorable in India."[36] Under his instruction the eleven disciples invited the missionaries to Kujibar where they were cordially received. The missionaries have left in their reports a good description of the *Sadhu* and his activities. The *Guru* earned their praise. Sutton wrote that he was frequently surprised at the great spiritual knowledge the *Sadhu* possessed on many subjects.[37]

The *Guru* made some striking predictions. [37-A] He declared that at the dawn of a millennium, piety and peace instead of falsehood and discord would prevail in the world. The missionaries tried to bring the Guru to the fold of Christianity but failed. The *Guru* showed no inclination to embrace Christianity. The missionaries returned disappointed. But their efforts were not fruitless as Sutton explained, "His approval of our tracts encouraged the disciples to read them and they grew beyond the narrow limits within which he sought to confine them."[38]

Though Sadhusundar instructed his disciples on Christian tracts, conversed with the missionaries on socio-religious problems, he never lost faith in Hinduism. He did not like the policy of conversion which the missionaries adopted. It was

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clear from the action of *Sadhu* when the missionaries converted two Hindu females, Komalee and Dumbee, without the knowledge of their husbands.[39]

Two Hindu females named komalee and Dumbee under the persuasion of Gangadhar and the missionaries were baptised as Christians without the knowledge of their husbands. Sadhu Sundar took the matter seriously. In the Sadhu's meeting the incident was reported. The case was filed in the court of Collector when Sadhu persuaded Komalee's husband to insitute a case. In the court of the Collector the case was dismissed. The disciples of the *Guru* (Komalee's husband) appealed to the District Magistrate, William Wilkinson against the judgement of the Collector. He called the ladies and ordered to return all the property and infant daughter to the husband of Homalee. The missionaries were fined fifty rupees and were warned not to do so in future. In the year 1833, the missionaries appealed to the Nizamat Adalat, Calcutta against the judgement of the Magistrate.[40]

In August, 1830, the *Sadhu*[40-A] wrote in his manuscript' bulletin entitled '*Kujibar Patra*' a short article '*Jesus O Sishu* in which he compared Jesus Christ with an infant. He said, in order to get Jesus, one would have to cry like a child. The missionaries complained that the article wounded the religious sentiment of the Christians by such comparison. Sundar Das was arrested and lodged in the Cuttack Jail. As no cognizable offence could be proved against him, the *Sadhu* was released after some months.[41]

It is thus clear that *Sadhu* was never in favour of Christianity, and their conversion policy. Sadhu Sundar had shown respect to Christianity but never persuaded his disciples to embrace Christianity. The missionaries in their reports too had not mentioned anything regarding Sadhu persuading his disciples to embrace the new religion. He asked his disciples rather not to worship idols or to go on piligrimages. Unfortunately, his attempt of synthesis between Christianity and

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Hinduism was misunderstood by his disciples. Some of his important disciples became early converts by embracing Christianity by their own will, that they confessed befo·e the missionaries. They were of the opinion that from the *Guru*, they attained no enlightenment though they had followed him sincerely for many years. Even they went to the extent of saying that he was not a man of good character. To quote Ramachandra, a disciple of the *Guru*, "Day after day the good name of Sundar Das diminished, for on account of his evil deeds our heart did not love him. For a year I served him with sincerity, but afterwards, seeing his wickedness, I lost my regard for him…"[42]

The reason to adopt a new religion varied from person to person in some cases though most of the earliest converts agreed at one point, that is faith in Christ, which made them know the inferiority of Hinduism.[43] In Bengal the missionaries themselves expressed great doubts about the sincerity of their own converts. They admitted that the early converts who embraced Christianity, did so primarily for material gains rather than for spiritual regeneration. Thus, Richter in his '*History of Christian Missions*' recorded that many people became Christians to ensure their own advancement or obtain a higher salary or any other advantage.[44] But in case of the early converts of Orissa it was not true.[45] They had not forsaken their ancestral faith out of emotions to become Christians. It was proved from the converts' own reports on the circumstances in which they embraced the new religion.[46] Most of the converts had very carefully read Christian Scriptures for many months, comparing them with Hindu Shastras ; some had argued with the missionaries for days ; and all had undergone an agonising mental strain in changing faith.[47]

Improving social status or making economic gains did not seem to have been the original incentives to conversion. Sutton rightly remarked that applications of several Hindus and Muslims to become Christians were rejected as their motives

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were worldly gain.[48] Eli Noyes also referred how twenty enquirers were discouraged to break caste and profess Christianity in 1839, as it was evident that they had sinister motives and they were not encouraged.[49]

The motives for conversion slightly differed in case of the tribal people. The Santals and Coles in times of scarcity or drought took shelter with the missionaries. Thus the A. F. B. missionaries at Balasore and Jollesore converted a large number of aboriginals to Christianity.[50]

Next to the Santals and Coles the other interesting people were the Khonds who practised the "Meriah Sacrifice" (Human Sacrifice)[51] annually. Government's intervention in that bloody sacrifice led to the rescue of several victims who were entrusted to the care of missionaries. The missionaries brought them under their faith. Thus, except the aboriginals facing scarcity, most of the converts embraced Christianity not for any gain.[52]

In contrast to Orissa, in the Madras Presidency most of the converts were poor and belonged to low castes who embraced Christianity for economic gain. The low caste *Pariah* converts were despised by the high caste converts. In Bengal Presidency too, during the same period many low castes were baptised. However, that was not the case with converts of Orissa.[53] Thus, Sutton rightly observed, "The missionaries stated that in India and elsewhere persons were being brought to embrace Christianity, at least in profession, from their connection in some way with professed Christians from embarassed circumstances, from loss of caste, or from some other mixed or unworthy motives. But no suspicion of that sort attached to the Orissa converts."[54] There had been no mass movement in the Bengal-Orissa Mission. The converts had been won individually ; a good proportion of them from the caste people.[55]

The motives of the early converts were clear from their own confession that the missionaries produced in form of the reports. Gangadhar Sarangi[56] was the first Oriya convert of

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the Orissa Mission, Erun Senapati,[57] a telenga was baptised by Bampton at Berhampur on December 25, 1827.[58]

Before his conversion he was the disciple of Sadhusundar Das, and as a Hindu he had full faith in the Hindu Scriptures. Before the conversion, he had been several times to Puri. Before his baptism, to know the real divinity of Jagannath, he pierced an iron rod unobserved by the priests thinking that in a dream or vision at night, Jagannath would reveal his glory. He lost faith in Jagannath, because, first nothing happened to him and secondly, the Christian tracts inspired him very much. Before his baptism with Charles Lacey, Gangadhar used to accompany him to the *bazar*[59] to assist in preaching. Gangadhar sang a *Geet* (song), the 'Jewel Mine of Salvation' to a great number of people who were astonished to hear such things from a *Brahmin.* The tract exposed the ten incarnations of Hindus and introduced Jesus Christ as the Saviour of Sinners. Lacey translated it from Bengali into Oriya for distribution by writing it on palm-leaves. After singing the song he read the Ten commandments and made some severe remarks upon the moral conduct of the Hindus.[60] Gangadhar spoke, "God here commands you to worship Himself alone and you have all stolen, not to commit adultery, but you have all committed uncleanliness with your neighbours' wives ; not to steal, but you have all stolen ; not to covet, but you are full of covetousness etc. Will God endure this disregard of His Commandments ? Nay, but will not my brother ; and we all have sinned. But here, Jesus died to deliver from the wrath of God and let us, believe on Him, His is the true salvation."[61] Gangadhar before his baptism, ridiculed the Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Being inspired by Christianity, he left Hinduism and embraced Christianity. He was baptised by Lacey on March 23, 1828.[62] His conversion was described to be the first stone to have drifted away from the colossus of Jagannath. It was a remarkable conversion of a high caste Hindu which was enough to influence the Hindus to come

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near to the field of Christianity. After his conversion the chain of caste was broken and the life of preaching was started by an Oriya Christian.[63] After his baptism he became an effective preacher. The native converts of the earliest period convinced the inquirers of Christianity of the immense value of tolerance. When a band of inquirers was persecuted at *Tyndy-Kool* in Cuttack for their reading of Christian Scriptures they drafted a petition to the Magistrate. Gangadhar advised them not to bring the case of their persecution to the notice of the Magistrate. Rather it would be better to silently endure the persecution. If they would be convinced of embracing Christianity, they would seek the help of the missionaries.[64]

As a true Oriya Christian, Gangadhar out-did the white missionaries in condemning the socio-religious institutions at public places of importance. Gangadhar wanted to petition the Government to allow him to destroy the idol of Jagannath at Puri. Even he petitioned to Parliament to withdraw its support from the maintenance of the temple.[65]

Gangadhar was engaged in preaching, teaching and examining the children of the Mission School when he was posted at Balasore as an evangelist.[66]

Gangadhar was also the first Indian who wrote a letter to the American missionaries in 1838 about American Republic life and Independence and cultural advancement and spread of education by the Europeans in Orissa. He appealed to them to supply Christian religious books and tracts for wide distributions at Puri where thousands of piligrims gathered with their near and dear ones. After his faithful service to Christianity he died in November, 1866.[67]

The second Oriya convert of the General Baptist Mission was Ramachunderji Jachuck.[68] His father was the *killadar*[68-A] of the fort of Cuttack. He was one of the important disciples of the Sadhu, and like Gangadhar was inspired and impressed by the Christians Tracts.[69]

Non-Christians were attracted towards Christianity either

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as a result of a great thirst for God or they were driven to Him, by a deep consciousness of sin. Ramachunder belonged to the second category. After Gangadhar's baptism Ram Chundar became restless. Before embracing Christianity he often packed his family idols in a bag and suspended them from the roof of his house. He did not allow even his wife and children to interfere in. In order to test them he threw unclean things on them. Some idols he threw away and some were broken to pieces and burnt. During those days of mental conflict he compared the Scriptures with Hindu *Shastra* and found the superiority of the former over the latter.[70] Though he feared that his adoption of the new religion would bring his ancestors to hell, yet he became determined to be baptized. On November 1, 1829 he was baptized by Lacey.[71] After his ordination, in September, 1834,[72] he preached among the natives. In preaching to the natives Rama did not deal so much with quotations from the Hindu *Shastras.* His similes were often very striking and greatly helped hearers to understand the spiritual truth conveyed. He was the author of two hymns. He witnessed not less than twenty one of his family and brother's family who were baptized. William Bampton, a missionary wrote to Lacey about Ramachunder ; "I was glad to see him, and am much pleased with him. I think I never heard a native preacher that I liked so well ; at Poore, he does not shaw the slightest want of courage, and he preaches Christ".[73] He died in 1863.

Radhu Das, another disciple of Sundar Das, renounced Hinduism and embraced Christianity. Like Gangadhar and Ramachunder he discovered truth by going through the "*New Testament*" and the '*Dasagyan*', which prepared his mind to renounce the connection with Sundar Das. He retired to a small village, situated near the place of paternal residence, where he practised as a devotee on his own account. The state of his mind at that time was a very unhappy one. He had no moral courage then to renounce his caste. However, his

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mind was full of disquietude ; his old companions were, one after another becoming Christians. In that state of mind he tried to collect disciples and preached the Ten Commandments to them. After about six months' independent practice as a *Bairagee*[74] teacher in this miserable state of mind, Radhu came to Cuttack to embrace Christianity.[75] He shaved his head and cast away his '*Jata*'[76], cast off his iron chain and *Kaupni.*[77] After some months, probation, on July 17, 1831, the seventh Oriya was baptized at Cuttack.[78] After baptism, he left ascetism and married the daughter of Balaramji Jachak at Bhogerpur. He brought seven or eight persons from his family to embrace the new faith, that is, Christianity.[79]

The missionaries suspended and excluded persons from Christianity, if he or she did not follow the church discipline. Radhu Das, was one such person to have been excommunicated temporarily.[80] Krupa Sindhu another early Oriya convert was a *Kshystra* of *Sytyabag.* He was first disposed towards Christianity by hearing in the streets at Puri, of Jesus' love and sufferings for a sinful world. Being convinced of the merits of the religion, he embraced Christianity. His boldness in preaching before the public was acknowledged by Sutton.[81]

Another convert was Doytaree who was a respectable man of considerable learning and judgement. He was a *Naik*[82] and physician by profession. Before his baptism he had four or five children and his wife. He had long since known the Gospel and observed its ordinances. Though his eldest daughter and wife opposed vehemently to embrace Christianity, he did not hear them. Brown baptized him in river Mahanadi where natives, native Christians and Europeans gathered in a large number. Lacey addressed people, and prayed in Oriya. He took off his beads and sacred thread and gave them to Lacey who threw them in water. The missionaries admitted and recorded too how the natives hissed at him seeking his breaking of caste. He died on May 31, 1852.[83]

Bamadev was a respectable man of Athagarh too. He was

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the first convert of the Athagarh State. Like the other early converts he was impressed by Christianity too. He was a '*Karan*' by caste.[84]

Thus, several early converts embraced Christianity after much consideration. Before loosing faith in Hinduism most of them were convinced of the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism.

The missionaries in Orissa baptised only the adults from the non-Christian community.[85] From the commencement of the mission stations in Orissa to the following first two decades, the missionary reports show, how they rejected the minors for baptism. Before the conversion of a native, he had to undergo a series of trial by the missionaries. A person was viewed by the missionaries as "Inquirer" during the period under trial. When the missionaries were satisfied that the person was impressed by Christ, then they considered him or her as a candidate for the baptism. Then they asked the converts several questions either at tank, pool or river, regarding Jesus Christ.[86] For example the missionaries used to ask the candidates on their baptism.

"Do you honour the Hindu Gods ?" 'No' "What do you think of the Hindu Shastras ?" "They are all false" and "Are you a sinner ?" "Yes" "Who saves sinners ?" "Jesue Christ" "What did Jesus Christ do to save sinners ?" "He died for them" "Who will be saved ?" "Those who rely on Jesus Christ", "Do you believe in Jesus Christ ?" "I do" "Do you wish to obey Jesus Christ ?" "I do"···"Do you wish to be baptized ?" "Yes".[87]

Conversion was a public affair. The missionaries wanted the local people to be convinced of the superiority of Christianity, the superiority being admitted by all who had been till then devout Hindus. Such an act was expected to impress the local people greatly and to shake their faith in their own religion.[88]

The conversion activities of the missionaries in India had

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reached the minds of the natives, which was viewed as a challenge to native Hinduism by the Hindu orthodox. As a result, such Hindus posed different kinds of problem and difficulties before the missionaries during their preaching which the latter encountered effectively. The native Hindus put embarassing questions to the missionaries which were as follows. "Please Sir, first go to the house of the Collector, or Magistrate, or Judge, or Commissioner, or to that of some millitery officer or other resident (as the case may be), and convert him from evil ways, who is one of your own and they came to us and we promise you, we will then listen to you."[89]

The missionaries had realised evil characters of Europeans stood in the way of conversions in India. In spite of that they succeded in their task.[90]

The Serampore missionaries also acknowledged that the immoral character of the Europeans was "injurious" to the progress of Christianity. Sir H. Montgomery during parliamentary debates in 1813 firmly advised that "If we wished to convert the natives of India, we ought first to reform our own people there."[91]

The missionaries in Orissa recorded vividly the reaction of the people to their converts and their families. When the first convert was baptized, people assembled in a large number to see the baptism at the bank of the river Mahanadi. They were astonished how a *Brahmin* gave up all connections with his ancestral faith and accepted Jesuse Christ as the Saviour.[92] The common observation among the people on those who became Christians remarked by Sutton was thus "we will have to be beggar if you turn to Christian." Some considered the native Christians as *Pariahs* or low caste people. After Ramachunder's baptism, his tenant observed, "You have become a *Pariah* and why do you stay in the house I occupy ?"[93] Before the missionaries his relatives spoke, "He is a great man's son, and his name is known very far ; it will be a sad thing for him to be a *Feringee*. His caste will go with him and will sink a

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whole race. His wife will put a rope round her neck and his children become unprotected."[94]

Before the conversion of natives to Christianity their near and dear ones tried their best to dissuade them from their path. In some cases the converts were also oppressed by their relatives. They administered "*Dhuttoora.*"[95] (a poisonous fruit) to the converts. Their purpose was to confine the converts for many a day in a closed room that might bring a change in the converts' mind. Several of the converts were served with such poisonous fruits as it has been remarked by Lacey.[96]

The early converts had to face a lot of difficulties due to their conversion. A Hindu after conversion had to lose all connections with his near and dear ones. The caste rules were observed and eating, drinking or associating in any other way with a converted person was prohibited. Not only the converts but also other members of the family were excommunicated and such social persecution led other members of converts' family to follow their ways. Thus, Christianity gained converts due to the social oppression which accompanied conversion. As most of the early converts were elderly persons and were married, their "uncompromising" wives followed them after some days either out of attachment or of persecution of their relatives.[97] However, in some cases where the family members did not follow the convert, and they themselves preferred security to the existing social structure, they thought him 'dead'. The wives or husbands, as the case, might be, observed the *Sradha*[98] ceremoney of the converts thinking them dead. Interestingly enough, for the first time during the period under review, the husbands of Komalee and Daumee performed the funeral rites for their wives and then married other women.[99]

Social ostracisation was the strongest weapon used against the converts. No one of the converts' own or of other castes employed them, sold them any thing or purchased any thing from them. Their children had to face problems to get jobs or trade ; no one married their children, except within the

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Christian community. Thatching, washing, shaving etc. were prohibited within the village, and life was made difficult for the converts in all ways.[100]

Difficulties which the new converts had to face were illustrated by the conversation of a mother and son at Balasore, which runs : "My son, if you become a Christian you can never come to my house again, I could never give you food though you were starving : you will be disowned by your friends and become an out caste, we shall even look upon you as dead and must perform funeral ceremonies......"[101].

On the eve of the conversion of Mahadev Das his aged mother also rebuked him before the missionaries. The feeling of his mother was noted in the report of the missionaries which runs thus :—

"Ah, Mahadev ! was it for this you sucked these breasts ? Was it for this I fed you in childhood ? was it for this I paid a teacher to teach you wisdom ?......Seventy years of age—Yet must I see this, Oh ! Mahadev ?"[102]

Before the eyes of the society conversion was a disgrace because the caste of a Hindu, once broken, cannot be again restored. The converts became subjects of ridicule as Christianity was not an indigeneous faith. It broke up their idolatrous marks and customs. It united the converts with the missionaries or Christians who were considered uncleaned and barbarous. Thus social ostracism forged strong links between the converts themselves and between them and the missionaries.[103]

Conversion cost them both social position and accustomed economic standard. They suffered a lot for the Gospel's sake. The washermen had refused to wash their clothes and the barbers to shave them, which were the highest marks of disgrace in the country. Krupasindhu bore the shame best, and bore his long beard and dirty clothes without a complaint. Ramchunder felt this disgrace more keenly. For sometime, Ram's mother, wife, children refused to eat or associate with him.[104]

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Sutton, a missionary, in this connection remarked "Many of Oriya Christians were poor at first, though, not all, but most were made still poorer by embracing Christianity. They were in almost in every case, turned out of house and home, and all their ordinary means of subsistence..."[105]

Conversion meant a loss of caste and cessation of all social and material benefits attending it. The converts lost all social connection as well as the right to their property. Until the enforcement of the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 the converts had to forfeit all the property on becoming Christians. However, after the enforcement of the said Act, for which, missionaries of India were responsible, the converts got the same rights as regards property as other Hindus.[106]

The early native converts were men of importance. It was the intention of the missionaries that the Gospel should be preached through the native converts in order to be effective. The missionaries recognised that their object could be fulfilled by the Oriya converts themselves, whose adequate training for the evangelical work, therefore, engaged missionary attention. As the Government followed the policy of non-intervention in the natives' religion, the missionaries thought it wise to preach Christianity through the early converts which they did without any objection from the Government. Since the commencement of the Baptist Mission in India, it was proposed by them to follow the same policy. The Oriya Christians bitterly condemned Hindu socio-religious institutions at public places.[107] The Oriya converts were very zealous in this regard. Gangadhar, for example, even wanted to petition the Government to allow him to destroy the idol of Jagannath at Puri. They condemned the Hindu *Shastras* as far as possible and proved the superiority of the Christianity over the Hindu religion. The white missionaries always wanted that the Government would far less oppose such activities than they would, if done by Oriya converts.[108]

The early converts played the role of white missionaries,

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being entrusted with the office of pastors or evangelists. Not only the native converts preached Christ but they became the pioneer in running many educational institutions established by missionaries. Some of the early converts became tutors of the Mission Academy which produced the teachers and preachers to Christ's cause in Orissa.[109]

From 1841, in Orissa, the Mission Academy fulfilled the need of Orissa Mission by imparting instructions to the native converts. C. W. Ranson in his "Christian Minister in India" remarked, "The Theological Schools which are primarily provincial institutions serving a limited area and using the local language as the medium of instruction, with or without the use of English..."[110] The Cuttack Theological school provided training through the medium of Oriya. In 1841, the first College for preachers eame into being, Five years later, a Mission Academy with eight students was opened. Buckley changed the name of the Academy into the Theological College.[111] The institution imparted instructions in Sanskrit, elements of natural philosophy etc. The converts were also taught a complete course on preaching, prayer, habits of study etc. They were also given to write an essay that dealt mainly with idolatry and Christianity. The first eight students of the Theological College wrote such essays on Christianity and idolatry.[112] Thus the Mission Academy fulfilled the desire of the missionaries when the Oriya converts received adequate training there.

The native converts played an important role in discharging the duties of pastors that the Missionary Societies always wanted. There were two sources to procure the pastors : One from among the best qualified of the adult converts, as was the case in Christian countries among some denominations, where men of suitable talents left their profession and at once exerted upon the Ministry, or carried on both conjointly ; the other source was young men of piety who were trained and educated in the Theological institution expressly for the Ministry.[113]

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Sutton always desired that, in educating the native converts, stress should be given to indigenous methods and habits. A native Christian pastor was expected to have a far greater appeal among the local people than white missionaries with an entirely different background. To quote Sutton, "The less we anglicise our establishments, the less we shall need English teachers, English accommodations by confirming to the native place and languages we shall be at comparatively little expense."[114]

The missionaries of Orissa always desired to train the selected native converts through Indian languages as a general rule, while giving them some instruction in English as well. The missionaries wanted to avoid, the impression in the local people's mind that Christianity was a foreign religion.[115] This, they thought could be best done by training the Oriya Christians through their own language; dress and several modes of life. These Oriya Christians, who helped in evangelisation looked the same as before, so that they would not be shunned by the local people as aliens. Sutton always wanted to utilise the native converts in evangelisation and other works as far as practicable. To quote him :

"European energy and intelligence were essential to the general control of such institutions, yet native help and talent should be employed whenever it could be done with efficiently always keeping in view that we hope natives will at length manage their own institutions entirely."[116]

By 1840, fifteen native Christians had been ordained as evangelists of whom a few had been appointed to the pastoral office too. All knew Sanskrit and with their proficiency in Hindu *Shastras*, they were expected to engage the *Brahmins* in debate and "expose their pretention and deception." The converts as per the desire of the missionaries tried to lessen the influence of Brahmins in society as they were the sole enemy of Christianity as the missionaries narrated in their several reports.[117]

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All, who seemed likely to be preachers, were carefully and gradually introduced into the work. Those converts were taken out by the missionaries in their itinerancies, encouraged to speak, as they were able, of their own experience in Hinduism and Christianity ; employed in distributing tracts and taught to regard themselves as bound to employ their talents for the evangelization of their country.[118]

Selected Oriya converts played the role of assistant preacher after their ordination. After the ordination of the Oriya converts they were appointed as assistant preachers and sent to several places, sometimes out side Orissa to preach Christianity. From the report of the Baptist Mission Society for the year 1835, it is known that after several years of trial, five Oriya converts were ordained, six were still employed as assistant preachers and three were missionary students.[119] In the Mission Report of 1840, it is mentioned that Damodar, the assistant preacher, left for Calcutta with Sutton and Sebo, with Stubbins to Berhampur. Several[120] other Oriya converts were selected and ordained at the Cuttack Conference of 1845.[121]

Besides preachers and evangelists, the Oriya converts played the role of teachers also. Gangadhar, when he was a preacher at Balasore, conducted both preaching and teaching departments. Some others were appointed to look after the schools established by the missionaries. The native converts also remained in charge of Boarding schools or orphanages and helped the missionaries in several ways. Their wives also sometimes remained in charge of the Boarding schools, as it is seen from the B.M.S. Report of 1840.[122]

The native converts were employed as copyists too. To preach Christianity, Lacey employed some of the first Oriya converts of the Mission to write several copies of the tracts on the palm leaf, and in the form of *Shastras*. It was a copy of one of the first poetical tracts translated from the Bengali into Oriya. Its title was the Life of "Christ." It comprised one

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hundred and twenty four leaves. Probably it was written in 1827. Lacey wanted to adopt the new method because, there was then considerable prejudice against the printed tract and the character was not so familiar as that written with the iron pen. Hence, the latter was much more valuable.[123]

The missionaries appointed the converts in various jobs like evangelists, teachers, copyists etc. They paid them to meet their needs. However, the pay was less in comparision to the European officials. When Gangadhar was appointed as evangelist and teacher, he was offered seven rupees for his maintenance. One of the reasons, why the missionaries sought to use the Oriya converts in evangelical work was that, the expenses involved in their training were far less than those incurred in the training of Europeans for the same purpose.[124] The standard of living of the Oriya pastors was far lower than that of the white pastors. It was hoped that eventually the evangelical work would be taken over by the Oriya converts themselves thus drastically reducing the expenses incurred by the missionary organisations.[125]

"The native preachers are men of character and standing among their own people ; very active and faithful in the Lords' work, and possessed of superior mental endowments," remarked the editor of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. The missionaries were very much pleased with the native converts who took keen interest to read the Bible and preferred to lead a simple life as mentioned in the Bible. They admitted before the missionaries that they were sinners and looked for the mercy of Christ.

Missionaries of Orissa admitted that the Oriya converts of Orissa were superior or better in moral to the other converts and even in some cases they surpassed the English men. Thus Sutton rightly remarked, "A thousand other influences combined to make professed Christian, honest, benevolent, chaste, decent in all his deportment a man of veracity, and whatever else may be of good report. It is not so, in India, and, therefore, we should not measure our converts by the

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standard of European attainments. It certainly would be infinitely to the disgrace to the latter to suppose with all their means and helps, and long series of years of progressive improvement, they are no better Christians than the converts of a few years in the midst of heathenism."[126]

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   In 1851, there were 540 native Christians at Cuttack followed by 60 at Jelesore and 24 at Piplee ;
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   C. C. O., Vol. XXV, No. 296 (N. S.), Aug., 1864, p. 359 ;
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17. C. C. O., Vol. VIII, No. 82, March 1839, p. 142.
18. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 167-170, 185-199, 203.
19. Karan—A section of Kshyatriya caste : writer class.
20. Joseph Mullens, "Results of Missionary Labour in India", The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Vol. VII, No. XXIV (London, 1858), pp. 445-446.

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sion of an equal number of Brahmans would do."

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26. Robert Lee Lacey, op. cit., p. 20.
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28. Roy, Short Synopsis, op. cit., pp. 23-24 ;
    A hand written paper named' Kujibar Patra' was published from the village Kujibar of Cuttack district, ten miles to north of Cuttack town by Sadhu Sundar Das. The copies of this paper were prepared on palm leaves and 'Haritali' papers. The publication of the paper was stopped in 1838 after the death of Sadhusundar Das.
29. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
30. Peggs, Rise and progress......op. cit., P. 209.
31. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 21-23.
32. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 255

32-A. Shastra—Hindu Scriptures.

33. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 255.
34. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
35. Math—A Religious institution resembling a monastery.
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37. Ibid., p. 249.

37-A Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., p. 155.

The Guru uttered many prophecies. He used to say, "My birth into this world is divine though that is known to no one. I shall become the ruler and judge of all nations ; Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Pheringees, and all other classes of men will regard me ; both male and female will reverence me ; for Boladab, in the form of light, has entered into me. I shall destory the load of sin which has accumulated in the world..."

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Sutton, Evangelization...op. cit., p. 171 ;
Sundar Das posed himself to be the Christ. Accordingly, he chose twelve of his principal disciples to represent twelve Apostles.

38. Carey,...Biography, Vol. III, p. 443 ;
The *Guru* said, he had been in former birth, incarnatedin Judea, and had then written the books now obtained ; and that he had now appeared in Orissa to give them circulations ;
C. C. O. Vol. V, Jan., 1836, pp. 49-50.
39. Roy, op. cit., pp. 25-26 ;
Sahu (Oriya), op. cit., p. 32 ;
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Komalee said that her father and husband rebuked Sundar Das and told him, "It is through your vile instructions that the honour of our families is gone, for our wives meditate running into the house of Pheringees."
40. Sutton Evangelization..., op. cit., pp. 207-208.
40-A. Sadhu—A Hindu ascetic or holyman, Sanyasee or a mendicant.
41. Sahu, op, cit., p. 3 ;
Roy, op. cit , pp. 28, 32.
42. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 166.
43. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 171.
44. Report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee (Madhva Pradesh, 1956), Vol. I (Nagpur), p. 101, clause-20.
45. Richter, op. cit., p. 171. ;
Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 365-368.
46. Ibid.
47. C. C. O. (New Series), Vol. IV, No. II, Feb., 1835, pp. 95, 96 ;
Peggs, op. cit., pp. 354-361.
48. Sutton's Narrative op. cit., p. 416.
49. Peggs, op, cit, p. 336.
50. "American Baptist New Missionary Station at Jellasore," C. C. O. Vol. I, No. VIII, (N. S.), Aug., 1840, p. 471.
51. The Khonds periodically propitiated the Earth Goddess, Tari, by performing human sacrifice on the new moon day in January, such propitiation was needed to ensure prosperity and happiness and for averting natural calamities. The rita was carried with the help of the Panas and Dombs, who provided victims for the sacrifice. Janis, a class of men acted as priests in the observance of religious rites which the British called the Meriah Sacrifice.
52. Peggs, op. cit., p. 359 ;
Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 364-368.
53. Sengupta, op. cit., p. 49.

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54. Sutton, Evangelization..., op. cit., p. 160.
55. Helen Barrett Montgomery, Following the Sunrise—A Century of Baptist Missions, 1813-1913, op. cit., pp. 135-136;
John Webster Grant, God's people in India (Madras, 1959), p. 15.
56. Carey (Compiled),...Biography, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 565;
P. J. Thomas, 100 Indian Witnesses to Jesus Christ (Bombay, 1974), p. 24.
57. Carey (compiled),...Biography, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 266.
58. Telenga—Telugu people.
59. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 303;
Bazar—Market place.
60. Peggs, op. cit., pp. 356-357.
61. Peggs. op. cit., p. 356.
62. C. C. O. Vol. IV, No. 33, Feb., 1835, p. 95;
Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 376;
Carey (compiled),...Biography. Vol-III, op. cit., p. 565.
63. Thomas, op. cit., p. 24;
Lacey, op. cit., p. 96.
64. "Orissa Baptist Mission—Extract from the Report for 1847," The Oriental Baptist, Vol. II, No. XXII, Oct., 1848, p. 310.
65. Peggs, op. cit., p. 347.
66. C. C. O. Vol. IV, No. XXXIII, op. cit., p. 97;
Peggs, op. cit., pp. 273-74.
67. "The Orissa Mission," The Missionary Herald (New Series), No. LXXI (London, 1862), p. 162;
Thomas, op. cit., p. 24.
68. C. C. O. Vol. V, May, 1836, p. 224;
Ramachunder was the grandson of Lakshanji Jachuck who was the Governor of fort of Cuttack, and son of Haibutra Jachuck;
Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., p. 164;
68-A. Kiladar—Owner of the fort.
69. C. C. O., Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 229-32;
Thomas, op. cit., pp. 64-65;
Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 64-65.
70. Thomas, Ibid, p. 64.
71. C. C. O. Vol. IV, No. XXXIII, Feb., 1835, p. 96;
C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. XXV, No. 296, August, 1864, p. 339.
72. C. C. O., Vol. XXV, op. cit., p. 339.
73. Missionary Herald, No. LXXI, op, cit., p. 162;
Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 410;
Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., p. 164;

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Peggs, op. cit., p. 217.

74. Bairagee—Religious mendicant ; Recluse ;
Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 386.
75. "Memoir of Radhu Das", C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. XI, No. 124, April, 1850, p. 184 ;
Carey (compiled), Biography, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 445.
76. Jata—Hair knot.
77. Kaupni—Underwear borne by the Indian ascetics.
78. C. C. O. (N. S.) Vol. XI, op. cit., pp. 184-185 ;
Carey (compiled),...Biography, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 445.
79. C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. XI, op. cit., p. 184.
80. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 393 ;
Carey (compiled), op. cit., p. 447.
81. Peggs, op. cit., pp. 219, 359 ;
Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 393.
82. Naik—A term indicating the head of a group in various parts of India ; a head ; an army general.
83. Peggs, op. cit., pp. 360-361.
84. Oriental Baptist, Vol. IV, 1850, p. 345 ;
Bamadev died on 7th Oct., 1850.
P. K. Patra, A Brief Survey of Baptist Missionary Society's work and Formation of Churches in the Cuttack District (Cuttack, 1941), pp. 16-17.
85. Peggs, op. cit., pp. 349-361 ;
Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 253-279.
86. Inquirers—Nominal Christians or the persons who joined the Christian community but have not been baptised ; the persons enquired about the Christianity.
87. Peggs, op. cit., p. 355.
88. K. Mojumdar, "Baptist Missionaries in Orissa, 1822-1858," Proceedings, Indian History Congress (37th Session, Calicut, 1976), pp. 327-335 ;
Peggs, op, cit., p. 230 ;
The missionaries' purpose of Baptism at public aimed at to address a large number.
89. The Christian Intelligencer, Dec.. 1856, Calcutta, p. 413.
90. Ibid.
91. Serampore Missior, Periodical Accounts (Supplement) 1830, p. 5 ;
Parliament Debates, Vol. XXVI. June 22, 1813, Col. 829.
92. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 433.
93. Ibid., p. 433 ;
C. C. O., Vol. V, May. 18:6, op. cit., p. 235.

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94. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 410.
95. Dhuttoora_Thorn apple.
96. Sutton,...Evangelization, p. 151 ;
Lacey remarked, "Several converts were administered thorn apple before their conversion with a sole motive of confining them in home."
97. Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., pp. 158, 159, 172, 191 ;
Peggs, op. cit., pp. 358, 360.
98. Sradha—An obsequial or funeral rites.
99. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 207.
100. Peggs, op. cit., pp. 359, 360.
101. Albaugh, op. cit., p. 142 ;
O. R. Bachelor, Hinduism and Christianity in Orissa (Boston, 1854), p. 159.
102. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., pp. 439-440.
103. Peggs, op. cit., p. 238.
104. Missionary Herald, No. LXXI, op. cit., p. 162.
105. Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., p. 365.
106. C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. VII, No. 94, Oct., 1847, p 558 ;
The converts of Udaipur, being under the Athagarh Raja lost all property.
C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. XI, No. 125, May, 1850, pp. 243-44 ;
O' Malley, "The Hindu Social System," Modern India and the West (Oxford, 1941), p. 369 ;
O'Malley, India's Social Heritage (Delhi, 1976), p. 185 ;
B. B. Mishra, The Indian Middle Class (London, 1961), pp. 207-208 ;
Dennis, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 315.
107. "The Religious Policy of the East India Company," The Christian Intelligencer, May, 1858, pp. 162-163 ;
Thomas, op. cit., p. 24.
108. Patra, Odisare Baptist Mandalira Karya, op. cit., p. 12.
109. C. C. O., Vol. V, Aug., 1836, p. 391.
110. Ranson, op. cit., p. 119.
111. Patra, op. cit., p. 167.
112. Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., p. 289 ;
The first eight students of the Theological College wrote essays on the following subjects :—
(1) The Nature and Attributes of God—Jugganath
(2) On Idolatry—Tama
(3) The Officers of Sacred Trinity—Kombhu
(4) God's Moral Government—Ghunoo

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(5) Original and Fallen Sate of Man—Mukunda
(6) Man's Inability to save Himself—Jugoo
(7) Inspiration and Use of the Holy Scriptures—Das
(8) Our Present State as a State of Probation—Hari.

113. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 272.
114. Ibid., op. cit., p. 276.
115. Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., p. 277.
116. Sutton, Evangelization, op, cit., p. 276.
117. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 279-288 ;
"First Report of the Orissa Mission,"
The Friend of India, Vol. VII, No. 339, July, 1841.
118. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXXII, June, No. LXIV, 1859 (Serampore, 1859), p. LXV ;
Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 279.
119. Peggs, op. cit., p. 352.
120. Ranson, op. cit., pp. 119-120.
121. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 281.
Balaji, Siba Sahu, Deenabandhu, Siba Naik, Damodar, Somanath, Parsuram Rout, Ram Das, Banmali were ordained as evangelists. Some of the converts after their completion of their studies in Mission Academy were appointed to preach though not ordained.
122. C. C. O., Vol. I (N. S.), No. 8, Aug., 1840. p. 473 ;
The Oriental Baptist, Vol. VI, June, 1852, p. 179 ; Calcutta Missionary Herald, Vol. I, No. VIII, op. cit., p. 134 ; Carey (compiled),...Biography, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 446 ;
Radhu was employed a School Ameen.
123. "Visit from a Oriya Guru,"
Christian Spectator. Vol. V, No. 58, April, 1876, p. 392.
124. Ibid ;
Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 173.
125. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 282.
126. Ibid., p. 364.

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3
Christian Villages

The missionaries of Orissa for the sake of converts had made a plan that they should remain in one place. The advantage of that plan was that the converts would be nearer to each other ; and as they were outcastes, and none assisted they would be able to render mutual help. It would moreever be very convenient for their assembling for worship.[1]

The missionaries established orphanages at Cuttack (1836). Berhampur (1840), Ganjam (1841), Piplee (1842), Balasore (1840) and Jellasore (1840). They collected the destitute children during scarcity, natural calamities and festivals, when some parents deserted their children. Europeon officials and the Government also asked the missionaries to take care of the orphans whom they always gladly accepted. The missionaries of Orissa were entrusted to take care of as many as two hundred and fifty meriahs. That they ably did by keeping them in several of their orphanages of Cuttack, Berhampur and Balasore. The famine of 1866 added as many as fifteen hundred orphans to their orphanages. The missionaries, like their converts, tried to provide shelter to their orphans and set up new colonies for which they were liberally assisted by the Government. The Europeon officials in Orissa as well as of other parts of India as per the appeal of the missionaries subscribed liberally. Thus, the Christian villages not only met the need of the persecuted converts, but also those of orphans.[2]

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The missionaries settled the converts into plots of land where Christian colonies came up with houses of a uniform pattern, clean streets, schools and chapels. The spirit of corporate living and mutual assistance developed. In the formation of these colonies the missionaries had two-fold purpose ; the converts could be kept under the vigilance of the missionaries ; secondly, the community development would prove to the other Hindu communities the superiority of the Christianity. Thus, in the flourishment of the Christian communities, the missionaries had great interest. Lacey once thought those colonies one day would grow into villages, villages into towns, and towns into cities.[3]

The Christian colonies disturbed the village life. After the formation of Christian villages, two types of hamlets came up—Christian hamlets and non-Christian hamlets. There was hardly any mobility between the Christian and Hindu settlements around. The Christians were economically more sound than the non-Christians of the neighbouring villages. They were less dependent on non-Christian villages as the missionaries tried their best to provide all sorts of facilities to their converts. The missionary institutions like Schools, Chapels, Press and Farms fulfilled the needs of the Christian villages.[4] The missionaries in some of the Christian villages experimented the co-operative farm system through their able converts. They also provided money in necessity.[5]

In the new Christian villages the community spirit developed among themselves. For the erection of the Schools, Chapels and other benevolent missionary institutions, the inhabitants of the Christian colonies tried their best for the prosperity of the institutions. Missionaries records show that even the poorest native Christian contributed his mite to the development of these institutions. The missionaries also raised funds from Christians of India for the erection of the Christian settlements. They raised funds for the new couples and settled them in the new Christian colonies. It was generally seen that

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marriages were confined to their community only ; the missionaries also arranged marriages between the boys and girls of the orphanages and for their settlement they tried their best to provide economic assistance by keeping them in the Christian colonies.[6]

As the converts were ostracised from the Hindu community the missionaries tried to unite them and thereby created a new social group that settled in the new colonies. Their new faith gave them a new spirit of discipline in all walks of life. They attended regularly in church services.

The Christian villages gave shelter to the non-Christians settled in the Christian colonies and in course of time some were converted into Christianity. The missionary institutions of the Christian villages provided all types of facilities to the non-Christians also.[7]

The Christian villages dismantled 'caste' and 'idolatry'. In the Christian community of the newly developed villages, a high caste Brahmin boy could marry a low caste girl without any prejudice.[8]

The newly established Christian villages had to face certain problems. In some cases certain persons even did not hesitate to set fire to the new villages. The missionary records show how a person was fined and arrested when he destroyed a village.[9]

Some Zamindars though they were not in favour of the flourishment of the Christian settlements, sold away certain parts of their own estates under the compulsion of the prevailing situation. The missionaries, for the sake of the converts, had established many such streets, colonies and villages in the 19th century.

From 1828 to 1832, the native converts of Orissa remained at their own places after their conversion. In 1833, the Orissa missionaries realised the difficulties of the converts and they set up three Christian streets in Cuttack.

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Christianpore

The missionaries purchased a piece of land near the military bazar in Cuttack for the purpose of setting up a Christian street there named Christianpore, with planned and uniform houses for the converts and a Chapel for worship. This is the first Christian street. Ramachandrajee Jachak first built the house there. In 1835, a Chapel was built for worship. For the construction of the Chapel a Europeon Officer named W. bore all the expenses. On every Sunday morning and Thursday evening people of the street gathered in the Chapel for worship. In 1840, at Christianpore, there were seventeen Christian families of eighty nine members. Ramachandrajee Jachuck, Basudev Sahu and Daitari Naik were prominent among the converts. From the Missionary Report of 1845, it is known that twenty-five children were imparted elementary education including elements of Christianity at Christianpore. Some non-Christians also read there.[10]

Societypore

In 1833, the second Christian street was established. It was named Societypore after the name of the missionary society. It was also called Cuttack Chandi after the name of the Maratha Goddess, Chandi, as Hindu brought that Goddess to that place from the Barbati Fort after the departure of Marathas from Orissa and worshipped there. Kesari Naik and Sanatan Das of Khanditar first built their houses there. In 1845, there were six families having thirty-nine members. After some years Tulasipur and Stewart Patna were developed as off-shoot of that street.[11]

Sutahat or Lacey Sahi

After the establishment of Societypore street, Lacey Sahi (street) was established. It was made by Charles Lacey, near the Sutahat village and so, it was named as Lacey Sahi or Sutahat. In course of time, the name Lacey Sahi was eliminated and the old name Sutahat remained.

By 1845, there were four Christian houses and another

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four houses were under construction. There were thirty four Christians in that street. Siba Patra, Parsu Rout, Thoma Santra, Kambu Naik and Tripurari Sahu were some of the important persons. For a longer period there was no Chapel in that colony and they worshipped in the verandah of the villagers.[12]

Paeton Sahi

Paeton Street came up in 1861. It was named after a judge, C. Paeton, who donated it to the Mission after his retirement and departure from Cuttack. Some Christians were provided rooms in that bungalow. After the great famine of 1865-66, the number of orphans increased in the Boys' Orphanage. The accomodation for the boys being insufficient in the old orphanage building, new orphanage buildings such as, school rooms, dormitories, hospital, workshop etc. were built in Paeton Sahi and the Boys' orphanage was removed there. Later on that compound was divided and in one part of the compound the adult orphans were provided with site to construct the houses and settle there. That was the second largest street both in area and population. The Chapel of the orphanage was used as the Chapel of the villagers. Later on, they constructed their own Chapel.[13]

Makarabag

To cater to the needs of Cuttack elder orphan boys, some streets were newly made. Makarabag was one among them. At first it was a branch of Paeton street.[14]

Thulasipore

It was a branch street of Cuttack Chandi. First it was meant to provide home for the destitute elder orphans.[15]

Stewart Patna and Sidhaswar Street

These two streets were very small and considered as one street. Dr. Stewart purchased the area of the old Telegraph Office and handed over to the Mission for the shelter of the orphans. The missionaries helped in setting up of the Stewart Patna street for the grown up orphan boys.[16]

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Bhoyrepur

It was not a Christian village in a real sense of the term as it was not set up by the missionaries. Rather it was the first village church in Orissa. It was ten miles to the north-east of Cuttack town. It comprised those disciples of Sunder Das who embraced Christianity but did not leave thier home village, Bhoyerpure. In 1840, eleven Christian families lived at Bhoyerpur and by 1845, the number of such families increased to fifteen. For many years it was one of their chief preaching centres. A small bungalow was constructed which served as the rest house of the missionaries and preachers on their visits and also it served as a Chapel. In 1884-85, there were only nine Christian families as some of them left for other Christian settlements.[17]

Choga

The missionaries proposed to set up a Christian colony at Choga which was situated in the Feudatory State of Athgarh. It is eighteen miles from Cuttack town. Lacey in the mission report wrote regarding Choga which runs thus, "At Choga I have taken a piece of ground containing ten acres, for the purpose of locating the native Christians. This land forms a mountain in the midst of a large rice plain of many thousand acres. Mr. Hough, has erected a small house, which serves for a residence and a Chapel and the kind donation of J. Miller which he sent one, as well as another from W. Brown of Balasore, will assist in settling a Christian village in this place......"[18]

The missionaries in their report mentioned about the worship of the Hindu Goddess Kosali, in the form of Durga, surrounded with many inferior deities, elephants, horses, sacred stones and other appendages of Durga by the villagers. The Christian school boys broke the images of Hindu deities and brought some images to Cuttack for desecration.

After the settlement of the Christian colony, some nominal Christians were given shelter there. The early converts of Orissa included Hari Padhi, Bamadev Sahu, Trilochan Sahu,

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Parsu Rout and some others who came from this village. They had to suffer a lot when they embraced Christianity at the hands of the neighbours, relatives and the officers of the Rajas. To keep the converts away from the superstitious Hindus and Hindu politics, the missionaries set up Chogan and they were asked to stay in the new colony. However, some were permitted to leave and settle at their own village along with the Hindus.[19]

In Choga areas there were four Villages namely Choga, Udayapur or Parbatia, Kapatikeri and Dharmpur or Arkhatangar. In early days a road was constructed by the missionaries to join Arakhtangar and Parbatia. To make the village Parvatia Lacey had procured the land from the Raja of Athgarh. As it was on a hill, it was called Parbatia. From that hill the sun-rise was seen first, and so it was also called Udayapur. People had named their village Udayapur or the village of rising. On Udayapur a missionary wrote, "I hope the light of the celestial sun will rise and shine upon this place." In 1840, Parbatia was built. On the site of the temple the first Christian school was built and soon the place grew into a large village. It was founded by Lacey. M.C. Half constructed a small bungalow for the missionaries and a Chapel for the native converts. In 1846, that Chapel being small, was broken and enlarged. By 1845, there were sixty converts. After some years a new village came up and was named as Kapatikeri. In 1858-59, at a mile's distance from Kapatikeri, another village namely Arakhtangar was established. The original Christian inhabitants of Arakhtangar renamed the village as Dharmpur. In 1859-60, from the mission report, it is known that ten families of twenty-five people resided there.[20]

Khanditara or Beecher Nagar

Khanditara, a corruption from Akhanditta, was about thirty miles to the North-East of Cuttack and was on the Jagannath Road. In some old Mission Reports this place was named Khandita. The first converts of this place were

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baptized in 1838 and the Church was founded in 1839. The missionaries felt for the establishment of a Christian village there in order to provide shelter to the few Christians of that village. At that time the Christian village was called Beechernagar, after George Beecher, an engineer who brought twenty acres of land and made it over to the mission there. He also brought another small estate called Chatia Bazar, and made it over to the mission for the purpose of establishing a Christian village there for the benefit of the Khanditara Christians. That property used to yield an annual income. Preachers were located there for a long time. A bungalow was built for the residence of the missionaries and at one time it was felt highly desirable to locate a foreign missionary there, but however that could not be materialised.[21]

In the Mission Report of 1840, reference was made to the formation of the station. "This is another new and important station, for which the Committee have agreed to send out a missionary as soon as can be."[22]

However, no resident missionary was stationed there though there was a mission bungalow. On November 1, 1840, Charles Lacey opened the village Chapel where thirty-two Christians and a number of natives surrounded. In 1845, there were thirty five Christians in that village. From the Mission Report of 1859-60, it is known that there were twelve Christians and fifteen nominal Christians. In 1863, the village was practically destroyed by flood. But the lives of the Christians were saved. Many of the converts from the Khanditara came to Cuttack and ultimately settled down there and some came over to Ganjam district.[23]

Babu Daitari Naik was the first preacher to Khanditara. Many Hindus became Christians and remained there. Raghu Roul, Siva Sahu, Keshari Naik, Lakshna Das, Damodar Mohanty, Bhawani Mohanty were some of the prominent men of the village. From the Mission Report of 1896, it is known

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Jacob Sahu as evangelist visited Khanditara and Akhayapur since 1883.

Mandapada (Mac Millan Patna)

Mandapada was the first orphan Village to be started in the Cuttack district. In 1867, J. MacMillan bought this small estate of two hundred acres and made it over to the mission for establishing a village for orphans. In 1868, thirteen of the famine orphans were sent to Mandapada under an experienced farmer for Choga as Superintendent and farming operations were started. In the following year, seven more were sent there and learnt farming under two Superintendents, Mara Pradhan and Ganda Das. A school was also started. The boys attended school for three hours each day and spent the rest of their working hours in farming. The Central Irrigation Company had their hospital and other buildings, but when those were no longer required, the company sold those to the mission. The hospital building was used as the School and another building as a Church. The rest houses were dismantled and their materials were used for the first eight Christian houses which were under construction then. The Hindu people of the neighbourhood, excepting one man, were kindly disposed towards Christians. He was twice punished with fines and once with imprisonment by the Law Courts for allowing his ponies to damage the crops of the Christians. One night in December when eleven boys with one of the Superintendents were sleeping he with his confederates set the house on fire. Parsu Rout was the first Preacher to be located there with Hari Das as Colporteurs. Services were held twice on Sundays. The new Church was built in 1890.

From the Mission Report of 1896-97, it is known that the Christians of MacMillan Patna were generally poor. The missionaries desired them to be employed in the Railway work. That would be carried on for two years.[24]

Jumbo (Hough Patna) 1882

It is fifty miles to the east of Cuttack established in 1882.

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G. Hough, the then Port Officer, Hookitola near False Point bought four hundred acres of Jungle land and three hundred fourteen acres of open land, ninety acres of which were already under cultivation and made over to the mission for establishing a Christian village for orphans. Mr. Hough also gave Rs. 200/- for the construction of the village houses. The missionaries out of the vast stretch of land gave a large area to Hindus as "Pahi" land that is to cultivate and pay certain proportion of the produce to the mission. Eleven families went to Jumbo or Hough to settle there. But due to the unhealthy climate most of them returned. Later on others went on and settled there. Most of them were inhabitants or Choga.[25]

Paul Singh was sent to establish the village, School and the Chapel. He was the first pastor and organiser. The first Chapel built in Jumbo was being used as a School room. They built their new Chapel in 1920.

Pipli

Though Christian *mandali* was established in 1840 at Pipli, there was no Christian village there. In the year 1848, with the help of G. Hough, a Government officer, the mission obtained a large piece of land at Pipli.[26]

There were four Christian villages at Pipli ; the first one was established in 1848 by Charles Lacey that was known as Old Street or Bada Sahi. Later on Adarsapur and **Pratyasapur*, the two villages were established. At Pipli in 1850, a Chapel was built. Due to the lack of accomodation on March 19, 1876. another Chapel was constructed.[27]

In 1866, an orphanage was established at Pipli to accomodate the famine orphans. In the orphanage the children were imparted training in Carpentary, Spinning, Looming. besides education. From the Mission Report of 1871, it is known that twelve looms were in regular operation. It provided clothes to hundred of orphans besides a large number of materials for the Europeans.[28]

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* **Lastly, another village known as Varasapur was establised.**

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Banamalipur

It was a loney place in puri district. W. Miller established that village. While villages were established for orphans, Banamalipur was established at the same time. As a result of missionaries' preaching at Pipli in 1864, many native converts came up. Among them Mukunda Sahu, Brindaban Sahu, Bhagwan Das, Bhuwan Sahu were famous. Mukunda Sahu was the Pastor there since 1879.[29]

Bailipada

Bailipada, a Christian village was erected in May, 1865 by W. Miller. At first three Christian families settled there and six more families followed in the following year. Most of the people from the Pipli orphanage flocked to settle there. In the year 1872 due to the flood entire village was washed away including the Chapel. The missionaries helped the recon struction of the Christian village and in 1873 eight families resided there. The house-wives of eight families were the students of the female orphanage.[30]

Asrayapur (Jamukoli)

The old name of Asrayapur village was Jamukoli. The Government had given a lease of one hundred acres of land for the rehabilatition of the Piplee orphanage. As per the revenue records, ten acres were suitable for the construction of houses and ninety acres for cultivation. As Asrayapur village was very near to Bailipada, there was no Chapel there. The Christians of Asrayapur used to go to Banamalipur for worship.[31]

Minchini Patna

In 1871, the village Minchini Patna was established. H. Minchini Piegu, a judge of Cuttack had given much financial help for the mission work. For the rehabilitation of Cuttack orphanage boys a village was established for which Minchini had given fifteen hundred rupees. The site was selected to the North-West of Khurda and it was named Minchini Bada after Minchini. The place was found unhealthy and later on the

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village was shifted to a distance of two miles and it was named Minchini Patna. The Orphans of Cuttack settled there and Sema Sahu of Khurda took care of the Chapel of the village.[32]

Mangalpur

Mangalpur is just near the boundary line of Minchini Patna. In 1874, for the first time four orphans of the Piplee Orphanage came and settled there. Later on, other converts followed them. They belonged to the Church of Minchini Patna. Sema Sahu established the Village mainly for the welfare of the Christians.[33]

Mitrapur

A small Christian community belonging to the American Free-will Baptist Mission was established at Mitrapur, eleven miles to the West of Balasore. The land was a jungle except about seven acres which were under cultivation. It was in the Nilagiri Tributary States of Orissa. The missionaries obtained it from the Raja of Nilagiri on a permanent lease at a low annual rent.[34] Several houses were constructed there for the native Christian farmers, Meriah children and Santals. During the Orissa famine of 1866, the village was deserted owing to the failure of crops in 1865. All the families who were formerly there during the famine, stayed in and around Balasore in great poverty and distress.[35] A. Miller persuaded some of the influential native Christians after the famine to settle again at Mitrapur and for that he provided financial assistance. In 1870, there were thirty-one native Christians in Mitrapur.[36] By 1901, there was a Christian Community of eighty members.[37]

The Freewill Baptist Missionaries had an out-station at Shantipur near Jellasore with eighty-five native Christians engaged in agriculture in 1870.[38]

Krushnachandrapur

In 1879, Maharaja Krushnachandra Bhanja gave sixteen square miles of jungle and waste land about ten miles to Mission from Baripada on the Balasore road. The first Roman Catholic

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Missionary started work from village Nangalkata situated in that land and since then the Roman Catholic Mission in Mayurbhanj is known as Nangalkata Mission. In 1880, the Mission founded a new village in that area and named it Krushnachandrapur after the name of the Maharaja.[39]

Christian Streets of Berhampur

There were two Christian streets at Berhampur. The name of the first street was 'Inmatepada' or Invalidpata'. Later on it was named as Old Street. I. Stubbins, a missionary had obtained it for the Christians from the Government. Name of the Second Street was 'Hilpatna' or 'Nuasahi.' For the rehabilitation of rescued meriahs of Berhampur orphanage William Bailey got it from the Government. Hill, a missionary had set up this village or street and added six acres of land to that lane that was obtained by Bailey from the Government. That new street was named Hill Patna after the name of Hill in 1854.[40]

Padripalli

Padripalli was not a model village in any sense, but a farm settlement of Christians. It was planted or established in 1849.[41] It was seven miles from Berhampur. It was set up to provide new means of livelihood to the rescued meriahs with a view to catering their needs. By 1861, there were seventy-seven Christians at Padripalli.[42]

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4
Christian Missionaries & The Jagannath Temple

Jagannath is one of the most famous deities of the Hindus. The fame of the Lord and his temple was well known to the British long before the conquest of Orissa. He is said to be an incarnation of *Vishnoo*, or *Darubrahma*, literally 'Wooden God', but meaning God who has revealed Himself in a body of wood. There are a great many images of this God, set up in different parts of India but the one established at Puri in Orissa is the principal and by far the most venerated.[1]

The worship of Jagannath received special attention of the Marhathas. They showed keen interest in the repair and maintenance of Jagannath Temple besides encouraging pilgrims to visit Puri. A number of villages and lands were assigned to meet the expenses of rituals and ceremonies. During Sheo Bhatt Sathe (1760-64), the management of the temple was taken away from the Raja of Khurda by the Government. The Government appointed a Special Officer to administer the receipts derived from various sources and expenditures. The deficit amount if any was provided by the Government.[2]

The main sources of income of the Jagannath Temple during the Marhatha rule were, revenue from the Satais Hazari Mahals,[3] *Sayer Duties*,[4] Taxes on Professions, Sale of Mahaprassad[5] and '*Kotkhanjah*'.[6]

The Maratha Government recouped the money spent on

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the Jagannath Temple by continuing the pilgrim tax which was imposed by the Muslims. They also levied a tax on the *Pratiharis*[7] who were allowed to collect from the pilgrims a fees of six annas.[8]

Marquis wellesley, the Governor General issued a specific direction to Lieutenant Col. Campbell about the temple on August 3, 1803 when he ordered for the occupation of Orissa. In that letter for the first time a Christian Governor General directed a policy to be followed regarding a particular Hindu Temple.[9] He wrote to Campbell, "On your arrival at Jaggarnaut, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonies and the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance."[9-A]

Wellesley dictated such a policy of religious toleration in order to conciliate the Hindus and thus paved the way for the smooth conquest of the Province. The liberal policy remained the keystone of the British administration of the temple of Jagannath.

George Harcourt and John Melville, the British Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack followed wellesley's instruction at the time of conquest and subsequently thereafter. In consultation with the *Brahmins* they allowed the Maratha Officer Sivaji Pundit to continue as before in the office of '*Dewal Purcha*',[10] who controlled the receipts and disbursement of the temple. The Collector of the Southern Division was directed to intervene, if necessary, for the management of the temple. Govinda Rai Mahasi was appointed to assist him in managing the affairs of the temple.[11]

Soon after the British occupation of Puri, the collection of pilgrim tax was suspended as Harcourt desired to know the

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policy of the Government. Wellesley thought that the pilgrim tax was an 'oppressive tax' that had been imposed by the Marathas and so it was not collected.[12] But due to the repeated requests of *Brahmins* and *Pandas*, Government thought over the matter. They continued the Maratha system of collection. On March 11, 1805, Charles Groeme, the Collector of Southern Division, was directed to submit a report on the establishments and customs of Jagannath Temple. Groeme submitted his report on June 10, 1805.[12-A] As per his report the authorities at Fort William decided to manage the temple as it was managed by the Marathas. The Board of Revenue forwarded the Draft to the Bengal Government on 17th June, 1805 which received the approval of the Governor General in Council. The Governor General in Council were in favour of the collection of the tax. When the case was referred to the Court of Directors, the Court led by Charles Grant and H. Parry objected to it as it would be contrary to Christian principles. The Board of Control did not approve the Draft sent by Grant and Parry and the decision of the Board to collect tax was intimated to the Gevernment through the Court of Directors. Accordingly, the Regulation IV of 1806, was passed on April 3, 1806, for the superintendence and management of the temple. It declared that the tax would be levied on pilgrims resorting to the Jagannath Temple. A covenanted servant was appointed as 'the Collector of tax on pilgrims at Jagannath.' Accordingly, James Hunter was appointed as the Collector of the taxes.[13]

The tax was fixed at ten rupees at *Athurnullah* and six rupees at Loknath on each person, commonly known as '*Lal Jatries*'.[14] The tax on all other pilgrims was fixed at two rupees.[15]

The religious mendicants, water carries from the Ganges to Jagannath or any other Hindu Temple, and persons who resided in the 'Holy Land' were exempted from the payment of the tax.[16]

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According to a table of rates, the '*Pandas*' and '*Pariharis*' of the temple were entitled to receive a fixed fee from the pilgrims. They were prohibited from making any demands of money exclusive of the tax and the fees specified.[17]

The superintendence of the temple, its interior economy, the conduct and management of its officers, the control over the priests, officers, servants attached to the temple were vested in an 'assembly of Pandits' consisting of three persons.[18]

The Regulation of 1806 had certain defects due to the classification of pilgrims into two sections, namely *Lal Jatris* and *Bhurangas* that led to dissatisfaction amongst the pilgrims and it was also seen that the total number of *Lal Jatris* was very small in comparision with that of the other class. Thus, the Government wanted to bring some changes in the Regulation IV and V of 1806 and so, the Regulation IV of 1809 was passed on April 28, 1809.

It first rescinded the Regulation IV and V of 1806. As per the suggestion of James Hunter, and after a period of 'trial and error,' the superintendence of the temple was vested in the Raja of Khurda by Regulation IV of 1809.[19]

The Superintendent was empowered to punish persons subject to his control by imposing small fines on them for their mis-conduct or neglect of duties. However, he could not remove the three *Purchas* who were appointed by the Collector of Cuttack subject to the confirmation by the Governor General. The collection of the tax was entrusted to an Officer with the official designation of the Collector of the tax on the pilgrims, subject to the authority of the Collector of Cuttack. The pilgrims were divided into four classes. The pilgrims of first class or *Lal Jatris* were required to pay ten rupees if they came from the Northern India and six rupees if they came from the Deccan. The second class pilgrims were known as *Nimlals* who were required to pay five rupees if they were coming from Northern India and three rupees if they were coming from the Deccan. The pilgrims of third class or '*Bhurungs*' were required

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to pay two rupees irrespective of the direction they came from. The pilgrims of fourth class or '*Punjtirthees*' were not allowed to enter the temple. They were allowed to perform their ceremonies outside the temple for which they had to pay two rupees.[20]

The religious mendicants of all sorts, the persons born within the holy land[21] or who might have resided with their families for a period of ten years within the above limits and the water carriers were exempted from the payment of taxes. Traders who came to Puri were also exempted from taxes. The Regulation also provided for the exemption of the taxes from the 'Kangals'.[22]

On 27th April, 1810, Regulation XI of 1810 was passed which exempted the native military officers and sepoys and servants of the European officers on duty from the payment of the tax. It also restricted the exemption hitherto allowed to the local pilgrims called the '*Desis*'.[23]

Besides the income derived from the tax, the temple also had large landed properties as endowments, the Chief of these being the *Sutteis Hazere Mahal.* These estates were managed by the Government officers while a certain sum was annually paid by the Government for the maintenance of the temple.[24]

Due to the peace and tranquility which prevailed under the British rule and also due to security from exaction by Tax Collectors, Priests, and their underlings the influx of pilgrims greatly increased, thereby augmenting the income from the tax collection. The Directors ordered that the tax was not to be considered as a source of revenue but was to be employed in keeping the temple in repair. But as the whole proceed from the tax was not necessary for the maintenance of the temple the surplus amount was utilised by Government in running a pilgrim hospital at Puri and repairing the roads that lead to the temple.[25]

The pilgrim tax was a great slur on the good name of Christian Government and the 'pilgrim hunters' were respon-

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sible for enticing a large number of pilgrims to the temple. The *Pariharis* were one of the thirty six classes of servants of Jagannath. Their duty was to guard the seven inner doors of the temple. They visited several places to incite the pilgrims to come to Jagannath.[26] They were governed by four *Sirdars.* They had a great number of agents known as *Butwa*[27] who travelled in search of pilgrims and brought them to Jagannath. The *Butwa* on his arrival at Puri reported to his *Parihari*, who took charge of the pilgrims, before their arrival at Ghat. The *Pandas*, who were in charge of the temple also began to procure pilgrims. Until 1806, the *Pandas* and *Pratiharis* collected their fees from the pilgrims in spite of the provisions of Regulation IV of 1809, which did not mention the fee to be paid to the *Pandas* and *Pariharis.* The missionaries criticised that due to the encouragement of the Government to the *Pandas* and *Pratiharis* they brought a large number of pilgrims to Puri annually.[28]

The *Pandas* and *Pratiharis* or their agents visited the villages to incite the pilgrims. The arrival of the pilgrim hunters was described by a missionary which runs thus :

"There is no mistaking the man. The half-bald shaven head, the tunic of coarse, dirty cloth, the cap drawn over the ears, the palm-leaf umbrella, the knap-sack on the bag, and the quid of narcotic leaf, which he chews and rolls in his cheek as he strides forward, proclaim the emissary of Jagannath. He seldom shines in public exhoration, but waits till the men have gone out to the fields and then makes a round of visits to the women. Skilled in every artifice of persuasion he works upon the religious fears and the worldly hopes of the female mind, and by the time the unsuspecting husbands come home from their work, every house has its fair apostle of pilgrimage."[29]

By 1810 the Government policy towards the administration of temple had been completely formulated and that was maintained till 1840 without any change. The management of the temple by the British Government was criticised by the devout

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Christians. The first public attack on the Government connection with Jagannath Temple was started by Claudies Buchanan, the Company's Chaplain.[30]

Buchanan had always been in close association with the works of the missionaries in India. During his visit to Malbar Coast he passed through Puri and witnessed the Car Festival of 1806. He had been responsible, for producing a Memoir of Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, in which he boldly presented India's spiritual and material requirement. To the senior chaplain of Bengal he wrote how thousands of Christians lamented over the connection of Britain with those abominations.[31]

On his way to Puri he saw hundreds of skulls, bones which were scattered by the road side. On 14th June he reached Puri and visited the temple and sea shore, that was whitened with bones. The dead and the dying presented themselves in almost every street. On 18th June he witnessed the Car Festival. He also saw how a pilgrim placed himself before the Car of Jagannath and immediately died and the people threw to the dead body rice and *Cowiries*. On 24th June 1806, he wrote "From an eminence on the pleasant banks of the Chilka lake, I had a view of lofty tower of Jugernath, far remote, and while I viewed it, its abominations came to my mind. It was on the morning of Sabbath. Ruminating long on the wide and extended empire of Moloch in the heathen world, I cherished in my thought the design of some Christian institutions, which being fostered by Britain, my native country, might gradually undermine this baneful idolatry, and put out the memory of it for ever."[32] He referred to two cases of self-immolation under the wheels of the Car of Jagannath which was actively encouraged by the priest during Car Festival. He also bitterly criticised the Government levying tax on the pilgrims, thereby associating with idolatry. He suggested the formation of a Christian institution to undermine the wide and extended empire of Moloch in the heathen world.[32-A] Buchanan's

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letter directed special attention to idolatry of Jagannath.

On *26th February, 1809*, he delivered his Sermon. The Star in the East in which he annouced that the time had come for the active preaching of Christianity in India. The publication of his Christian Researches in Asia in 1811 aroused interest in Indian affairs that had ever been felt in England. Buchanan presented fearsome account of the ceremonies performed at Jagannath and the behaviour of priests, and the *Pandas* to the pilgrims. He did not forget to narrate the misery of the pilgrims during the festivals. The abominable songs of the priests during the Car Festival before the open public also drew his attention.[33]

Just at that time the Serampore missionaries fought with the Government to severe all its connection with idolatry. They publised a tract, entitled *Rise of Wisdom* condemning the folly of the Government by extending support to idolatry. Lord Minto interrupted the circulation of the tract. The missionaries described the carnage at Puri without caring for truth. Carey boldly described the annual death toll of twelve thousand for Jagannath. The missionaries account of the great holocausts at Puri stirred the public in England. They blamed the Home Government for its non-intervention in the self-immolation practice.[34] Due to the pressure o; the missionaries and the evangelists, in 1813, the House of Commons took evidence of some of the servants of the East India Company who had retired.

Charles Buller, a former Settlement Commissioner at Cuttack witnessed the ceremonies at Jagannath a few years later than Buchanon. Buller, as a member of the Parliament attacked and challenged the statements of Buchanon. Buchanon's blaming to the Bengal Government for its protection to the evil practices was refuted by Buller. Buller also wrote a letter to the Court of Directors on 19th May, 1813, in which he condemned Buchanon's statement. He remarked that self-immolations occurred but certainly not to the extent as seemed

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to be supposed by many in England. In that letter he remarked that in the Car Festival of 1809, he heard about one self-immolation.[35] The forceful argument of Buller convinced the other members of Parliament about the exaggerated statement of Buchanon.

In vain, Buchanon addressed two letters to the Court of Directors. He ably defended in two letters all his previous assertions. He forwarded the views of servants and ex-servants of the Company who had taken scholarly interest in different aspects of life and customs of the Indian people. On many points the views that were given by the servants of the Company in form of articles in several books and journals fully substantiated Buchanon's statement.[36]

In his letter to the Court of Directors Buchanon urged that the people gathered in a large number at Puri from all parts of the country. It was a golden opportunity to preach Christianity there. He also advocated free distribution of ten thousand copies of the Bible annually. As the Court of Directors did not show any interest in that regard, Buchanon appealed to the public in that connection.[37]

As long as the Marathas were able to endanger the communications between the Madras and Bengal Presidencies, Orissa as an essential link between both, played an important role in the strategic and military plans of the East India Company. A *Maharaja* of Bengal offered one lakh and fifty thousand rupees for the construction of "Jagannath Road" between Calcutta and Puri to the Government. Government of Bengal accepted the offer for the convenience of the pilgrims. From the military point of view the construction of the road was also highly necessary for the purpose of free communication between Fort William and Fort St. George. In October, 1812, under the superintendence of Captain Sackville the construction work was started and the road was declared finally complete in 1825. The construction of road attracted a large number of bilgrims to the Jagannath Temple.[38]

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Pilgrims from various parts of India visited Puri in a large number throughout the year to attend various festivals[39] connected with the Jagannath Temple. The Car Festival, the important one attracted the maximum number of pilgrims from different parts of India. Besides the Car Festival, the '*Chandan Jatra*' and '*Snan Jatra*' also attracted many pilgrims. In 1807-1808, nearly 83,685 pilgrims visited Puri.[40] From 1817-1818 to 1821-1822 the number of pilgrims that visited Puri to attend the three great festivals was given in a statement by Stirling in his Account of Orissa Proper.[41] In July, 1825, 2,25,000 pilgrims[42] attended the Car Festival. James Peggs remarked that fifty thousand to three lakhs pilgrims annually visited the temple.

The Government collected pilgrim tax from the pilgrims and that was criticised by the Christian missionaries. For the abolition of the pilgrim tax they struggled both in India and London. The Government collected a huge amount from the pilgrims as tax. From 1805-06 to 1824-25, Rs. 18,02,741 had been collected as the pilgrim tax. Government profits from the Jagannath Temple from 1810-1830 was Sicca rupees 12,83,130 and from 1831-39 was Rs. 5,49,909. Thus, the Government got a profit of Rs. 18,33,039 from the Jagannath Temple.[43]

Sir John Poynder, member of the Court of Proprietors made a statement in the Court in case of four temples (at Tirupati, Puri, Allahabad and Gaya) the worshippers paid as a tax in twenty two years upwards 1,500.000 sterling and the Company had a profit of 10,00,000 sterling.[44]

Though there was heavy influx of pilgrims during the festivals[45] due to the lack of accommodation and medical facilities. the pilgrims suffered a lot. The contemporary missionary record shows the death of a number of pilgrims due to cholera and other epidemics. In order to mitigate the difficulty the Collector of Cuttack, Thomas Pokenham, suggested to the Government to erect more rest houses at convenient distance.

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Due to lack of money, Government did not pay heed to the proposal.[46]

The pilgrims hospital at Puri under a native doctor could not provide medical facilities to such a large number of pilgrims and so Pakenham suggested for the appointment of a European Medical Officer with a good establishment. The Government too ignored the proposal and asked the Civil Surgeon of Cuttack to attend at Puri during the principal festivals. Thus, the lack of accommodation and medical facilities increased the sufferings of the pilgrims.[47]

Pilgrims suffered most during return Journey. Rev. Lacroix, a missionary of Calcutta, remarked, "Weakened by their long stay at Puri and its many miseries, the roads in a bad state, their previous excitment all fled, their little stock of money greatly reduced, the pilgrims group themselves again in their little companies start for home. Being anxious to proceed they travelled very long stages every day, and walk on till they drop from sheer fatigue."[48]

During the rainy season they had to suffer a lot. The missionaries of India served them at different places in different stages. At Puri, Sutton, Peggs and other missionaries gave rice to several people. In certain cases they failed as the suffering pilgrims would not accept food unless cooked by Brahmins.[49]

The missionaries relieved many sick female pilgrims who were deserted by their near and dear ones. They also relieved many by administering medicines to the sick, clothing to the naked, food to the hungry and money to the destitute. Lacey remarked, "I was frequently obliged to clothe the helpless female with my own hands."[50] The missionaries in the pligrim road distributed tracts, fruits, clothes, medicines etc. to the needy pilgrims. Bachelor at Balasore and Phillips at Jaleswar had served a large number of suffering pilgrims in their respective hospitals.[51] In some cases the suffering pilgrims asked for help to the missionaries.[52] Kaye quoted from the Periodical

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Accounts of the Baptist Mission, "Idolatry destroys more than the sword, yet in a way which is scarcely perceived. The members who die in these long pilgrimages, either through want or fatigue, or from dysenteries and fever caught by lying out and want of accommodation is incredible. I only mention one idol, the famous Juggernaut, in Orissa, to which twelve or thirteen pilgrimages are made every year. It is calculated that the numbers who go thither is, on some occasions, 6,00,000 persons, and scarcely even less than 1,00,000 persons. I suppose that, at the lowest calculation, 12,00,000 persons attend. New, if only one in ten died, the mortality caused by this one idol would be 1,20,000 in a year, but some are of opinion that not one in ten survive and return home again."[53]

Pilgrims from various parts of India visited Puri. In order to see Jagannath they left their homes and travelled slowly with their wives and children for months at a stretch. Some old persons accompanied them to die at Jagannath for salvation. A large number of pilgrims died on the road and their dead bodies remained unburied. Their bones, skulls whitened the fields, roads and banks of rivers, marked a missionary.[54]

The aged, the week and sick were persuaded to attempt the pilgrimages as a remedy for all evils. The number of women and children was not less. With the delusive hope of obtaining eternal bliss, the pilgrims left their families and travelled an immense distance.

Their means of subsistence on the roads were scanty ; and their light clothing and little bodily strength were ill-calculated to encounter the inclemency of the weather. The pilgrims after their arrival at Puri were then oppressed by *Pandas* who used to take away the money in various ways. Besides that, the pilgrims had to pay to the Government the pilgrim Tax. Thus, the return journey of the pilgrims was so miserable that they had nothing but to starve. In that miserable condition some used to die on the way to home and their bodies were devoured by dogs, jackals and vultures.[55]

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Charles Lacey, on the miseries of the pilgrims, remarked that the poor pilgrims were seen in every direction. He counted the death of upwards ninety in one place and in another Bampton counted one hundred and forty death. In the hospital at Jagannath, Lacey saw thirty dead bodies heaped together.

In 1826, the B. M. S's roport mentions that for four miles from the gate, the dead were very numerous ; some on the road among the mud, and some scarcels distinguishable from it.[56]

J. M. Cropper, a missionary in Orissa, mentioned how out of five hundred Nepali pilgrims forty died on the way to Puri.[57] On the eve of the Car Festival of 1829, missionaries wrote a tract entitled, "Reflections on Scenes beheld near the Temple Jagannath : or Meditation among the dead." It was written after seeing ninety pilgrims lying dead in one place and one hundred and forty three in another place.

William Ward estimated the annual mortality of pilgrims, resorting to Puri, from disease and accidents, to be 4000 to 5000. William Ward also wrote in the "Friend of India" in 1841, "Apart from religious consideration the pilgrimage of Jagannath must be regarded as the greatest scourge in India. The loss of life it annually entails far excceds that which is occasioned by all murders perpetrated throughout the country".[58] Such statements agitated the public mind in England. The Government of Bengal asked A. J. Mills, the Commissioner, to send a report in that connection. Mill submitted a report on 26th August, 1843 and mentioned death of four or five thousand per annum was an exaggerated estimate.[59]

The missionaries' campaign started again after 1813. Danial Corrie, a chaplain of the Company, visited England in 1816 and preached a series of sermons urging the Christians of England to assist in remedying the deplorable conditions in India. William Ward, of B. M. S. and Henry Townley of the L. M. S. followed him in 1819 and 1823 respectively for the same cause. James Peggs of the G. B. M. arrived in

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England in 1826 and began to publicize the deplorable conditions of natives of India due to the pilgrimage.[60]

The missionary Societies also published series of journals and newspapers which contained the deplorable conditions of the pilgrims at Puri. In 1817, the Church Missionary Society published *The Missionary Register.* Two issues of 1817 contained, regarding the Car Festivals at Jagannath, the act of drawing the Car and self-immolation under its wheels.[61]

Serampore Baptists published the *Friend of India*, the monthly periodical, the first version of which first appeared in 1818. From 1820, another periodical was published quarterly with the same title.[62]

In the *Friend of India* and other publications the Baptist missionaries pointed out that the British Government's association with the temple had increased its fame at a time when Hinduism in general was 'languishing, its temples falling into decay and its absurdities sinking into contempt as light pours in upon the native mind.' It enhanced the merit of a pilgrim's journey by adding to the expense and difficulty. It also described the collection of tax as oppressive.[63]

In 1825, the Baptist Missionary Society adopted measures to remove British connection with Idolatry in India. The Baptist Missionary Society presented a petition to the House of Commons and the East India Directors against the British support of Hindu Idolatry. The Society also forwarded the copy of the petition to the Secretaries of the other missionary Societies.[64]

The early missionaries of the General Baptist Mission gave much importance to Jagannath, as they thought that it they would succeed in conversion activity in Puri, where thousands of people gather, their aim would be fulfilled. Marshman told Lacey before his departure to Orissa "that hitherto the devil had slept quietly on the pinnacle of Jagannath's temple, but that when they commenced preaching Christ at Puri he would immediately awake and exert himself for the purpose of main-

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taining his influence and kingdom inviolate."[65]

Bampton visited Puri in 1823 during the Car Festival and from that period onwards he began his activities against idolatry. Bampton began his activities by distributing religious tracts and pamphlets to the people and vehemently criticised idolatry and upheld Christianity and its ideals. But it was not possible for Bampton to influence the people so easily regarding Christianity. On the Contrary, the natives violently opposed him when he denounced Jagannath. But the early missionaries never lost their heart. It was the common remark of the natives to missionaries "You will never make a convert among followers of Jagannath..."[66] Regarding his labour at Puri, he said, "I mean to step cautiously ; a spider will not provoke a strong fly recently entangled, immediately to use all his strength ; but its prudent forbearance secures the prey ; which a direct attack might have been the means of liberating."[67]

On 17th September, Bampton wrote he was harassed, rebuked and criticised by the natives and sometimes certain youngmen used to trouble him regularly as a hobby while he was preaching at Jagannath. Even they framed a false estimate of his character. On 31st October, 1826, during his preaching at Puri the natives rediculed him which he recorded in his journal that runs thus :—

"This has been one of the worst nights I ever endured. Mockery, mockery, cruel mockery ; almost unbearable ; I talked for a while and was heard by some, on the blessing to be enjoyed by faith in Jesus Christ ; when a man came with a hell hardened countenance, and that peculiar constant laugh which I can hardly bear. He spoke Hindustani, so that I understood him worse than I should otherwise have done ; but the burden of his cry was Juggernauth is the foundation ; Juggernauth is completely God : Victory to Juggernauth etc. He clapped his hands ; he laughed ; he shouted and induced the rest, or a great part of them to do the same..."[68]

Bampton was surprised that the educated and respectable

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Bengalees who had been educated in the colleges and institutions of European literature in Calcutta and its vicinity were also present in the festival of 1830. Bampton died on December 17, 1830 at Puri and the other Orissa missionaries with their native converts started attacking Jagannath on various festivals of importance.[69] Sutton stayed at Puri till 1832 and from 1832 to 1837 there was no missionary at Puri; however, Puri was visited by neighbouring missionaries.[70]

The Orissa missionaries drew the attention of the Government regarding the practice of self-immolation under the wheels of Lord Jagannath that occurred frequently. They pointed out that during the Car Festival, people self-immolated themselves in the plea of getting merit in a large number.[71] They also drew the attention of the Government by quoting from various sources the miseries of the pilgrims and blamed the Government for all such happenings. Their target of attack was the Government's support to idolatry, the root cause of all[71-A] the evils, and so it must be ceased. Peggs after his departure from Orissa carried on a campaign by writing books, pamphlets and petitions and aroused the public in England with a hope to bring an end the Government connection with the idolatrous institutions.

In 1828, Peggs published a pamphlet entitled The *Pilgrim Tax* in India in which he condemned the British Government in India for collecting pilgrim taxes from the pilgrims at Gaya, Allahbad and Puri. In his volume India's Cries to British Humanity, Peggs tried to prove the celebrity of the temple depended on the collection of the pilgrim tax by the Government, the abolition of which would lead to decline of the idolatry. He forcibly asserted the pilgrim tax enhanced the value of pilgrimages. Furthermore the poverty, sickness, mortality and sufferings were due to Government's support to such festivals. Peggs also pointed out at Chandernagore the French had refused to allow Jagannath's Car to be dragged along the newly repaired road. Still there had been no disturbance there.

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Thus, Peggs argued there would not be any disturbance if Government would take such step that would save the lives of many pilgrims.[72]

The public in England believed the exaggerated statements of the missionaries. They were convinced that it was unchristian on the part of the Government to associate itself with idolatry in India.

Peggs could persuade John Poynder, one of the proprietors of the East India Stock, to take up the cause of the missionaries. On 13th March, 1827 Poynder condemned Suttee and read details relative to the sacrifices at Jagannath. He made a speech on human sacrifices in India. He pointed out that "Of the sacrifices, however, the most woeful at Juggernaut" and he referred the cases of immolation cited by Buchanan.[73]

John Poynder brought a motion in the General Court of Proprietors on September 22, 1830 which contained the evidence in proof of the direct encouragement afforded by the Company to the system of idolatry. He brought the motion namely :—"That this Court, taking into consideration the direct encouragement afforded to idolatry, and also to the licentiousness and bloodshed connected with observances, by the collection of tribute from the worshippers and pilgrims at the temples of Juggernaut, at Gaya, Allahbad, and elsewhere, both for the repair of those temples and the maintenance of their priests and attendance, recommends to the Honourable Court of Directors to take such measures as may have the effect of immediately directing the attention of the Indian Government to this subject and of eventually removing such a reproach from a Christian Empire."[74]

Poynder proceeded to cite the testimony of the historians of the British India, Mill, Abbe Dubois, Ward, in proof of the impurity and cruelty always accompanying idolatry. He brought forward the evidence of Dr. Buchanan, and the Orissa missionaries.[75]

In the Court of Proprietors, Poynder again led the agitation

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for severing Government's connection with Indian religions. In 1831, he brought a motion on the subject; but withdrew it "on every assurance short of a positive pledges" by the Directors. As nothing had been done in this regard, at the meeting of the General Court on 28th September, 1832. he enquired whether any progress had been made towards the abolition of the tax. The Chairman replied that the question was receiving serious attention of the Directors and the matter was talked about without any decision being arrived at.[76]

The Evangelist again found strong champions in Lord Glenelg, the President, and Macaulay, a member of the India Board. At the instance of Glenelg the Court prepared a Draft Despatch. Expressing approval of the sentiments of Bentinck (1828-35)[77] they declared that "the assurance given to the people that they shall have the free observance of their religion and laws undoubtedly includes the continuance which practice has confirmed, of the same degree of support and protection which they received from their Native Governments.[78]

The Court asked for a full exposition of Government's views not only on the tax but also on the existing mode of supporting various Indian religious institutions in India. They wanted to know what would be the reaction of the Indians if religious endowments and collection of the tax were made over to them. They again declared that they had no objection to the withdrawal of interference if this could be done with due caution. Regarding annual contributions to various religious institutions, they observed, "as long as we continue to pay our own ecclesiastical establishments, the expense of which is annually increasing, and has greater tendency to increase than that of any other establishment, from the revenues of India, we cannot with any ground of justice withdraw from them the aid which we have hitherto been in the habit of granting."[79]

The Draft was submitted to Lord Glenelg. He deleted the paragraphs containing the above mentioned observation and substituted his own observation. The Board finally ordered

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that the Government Officers should completely dissociate themselves from the internal management of temples and all affairs connected with their ceremonies; that the pilgrim tax should be completely abolished everywhere; that the Government should derive no revenue from temples; nor help its collection, that the temples should be left entirely to the Hindus; but during religious festivals peace should be preserved by the police. The time, manner, degree, gradation and necessary precautions for carrying out these injunctions were left to the discretion of the local Governments.[80]

The Court requested the Board to reconsider the question which was not considered by the Board. As the Court delayed, the Board ordered to send the Despatch without further delay which, under protest, the Court sent to the Government of India.[81]

On receipt of the Despatch, the Governor General caused circulars to be sent not only to the local authorities in Bengal but also to the two other Presidencies calling upon them to supply statements of income derived from pilgrim taxes and other sources connected with the religious establishments of Indians. No steps were taken either by Bentinck or by his immediate successor Metcalfe, as the preparation of such a statement of accounts took time. But the missionaries and evangelists wanted to know again regarding the steps taken by the Government of India. As they knew, in spite of the instructions of the Court, the Government slept over the matter for long five years; they wanted to raise the question in Britain again.[82]

The evangelists and the missionaries again persuaded Poynder to raise the question, who kept on agitating the question practically at every meeting of the General Court. At a meeting of the Court held on Dec. 16, 1835 Poynder once more raised the question of Government's connection with Indian religious festivals especially at Juggernauth, where, he claimed on the authority of a communication from Calcutta, the author of

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which he did not mention, that practices of self-immolation were being perpetrated. The Chairman denied the allegation and assured the Court that, as a Despatch on the Government's connection with Indian religions had already been sent to India, "it would not be long before they heard of the extinction of this abominable superstition."[83]

Poynder gave a notice of motion recommending to the Directors the adoption of suitable measures for carrying out the injunctions contained in the Despatch of 1833. Poynder bitterly denounced the abuses that existed in Indian Society and religion. Poynder pressed his motion which was duly carried.[84]

As a result of Poynder's effort the Directors reminded the Government of India of the injunctions laid down in the Despatch of 1833. The Directors intimated "It is desirable that no unnecessary delay should take place in bringing forward the whole subject, fully and intelligibly in all its bearings on the financial interests, on the political obligations and on the moral character of the Government."[85]

Again on 21st Dec., 1836 the General Court of the Proprietors of the East India Company brought a motion for carrying into effect the letter of the Court of Directors of 20th Feb., 1833, which ordered the withdrawal of British patronage and support from the worship and service of idolatry, and the extinction of all taxation arising from the superstitions of Heathenism.[86]

He quoted the views of Udny, the member of Council, the views of Cuttack missionaries, and other Christians of Madras Presidency.[87]

On 13th May, 1837 a deputation of the General Baptist missionaries met Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control. Peggs dedicated one of his books relating to Jagannath Temple on 26th July, 1838. Hobhouse gave assurance in the House of Commons that he would direct a Despatch to be sent to India for the immediate implementation of the Despatch of 1838.[88]

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Meanwhile meetings were being organised both in India and Britain and petitions presented to the East India Company calling upon them to give effect to the principles laid down in the Despatch of 1833.[89]

In 1838, Charles Lacey (1823—1852) of the G.B.M.S. issued an appeal of the friends of religion and humanity to their fellow Christians on the propriety of Dissolving connection of the British Indian Government with the idolatry of India. on 29th March, 1838 *the Friend of India* asserted that 'the power of public opinion combined upon a holy principle, and directed to a sacred end', would ultimately force the Court to order the Government to severe its relationship with Indian religious ceremonies.[90]

On Aug. 8, 1838, a Despatch was signed by the Court of Directors regarding the management of the Jagannath temple. They asked the Government of India to take steps with 'as little delay as possible' to abolish the pilgrim tax and for the discontinuance of the Government's connection. They also desired to vest the management of the temples and other places of religious resort in the hands of the natives as per their instruction of 20th February, 1833.[91]

Lord Auckland (1836—1842), the Governor General, announced in November, 1839 the surrender of the tax at Allahabad and outlined the plans to do the same at Gaya and Jagannath. He proposed to continue paying a subsidy of Rs. 20,000 annually to Gaya and Rs. 30,000 to Jagannath. On April 20, 1840 Act X of 1840 was passed and the Government ceased collecting tax on pilgrims to Jagannath. It was provided that "the superintendence of the temple of Juggernauth and its interior economy the conduct and management of its affairs, and the control over the priests, officers and servants attached to the temple, shall continue to be vested in the Rajah of Khoordh for the time being."[92]

Moreover, the Rajah of Khurda "shall not receive or allow to be received by any person connected with the said temple

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any payment other than such voluntary donations as may be freely offered from any person resorting to the said Temple for the performance of religious ceremonies." According to the said Act the *Rajah* and all persons connected with the Temple were to be guided on all occasions by the established usage of the Temple. The *Rajah*, priests, officers and servants attached to the Temple should be prosecuted or sued by any party in any civil or criminal court of competent jurisdiction for any breach of trust committed in the discharge of their duties. Thus, from 3rd May, the Gate was thrown open to the pilgrims and the collection of tax from them finally ceased.[93]

In spite of the abolition of pilgrim tax, the Government's connection with the Temple did not cease. The Government still paid to the *Rajah* of Khurda a fixed amount of Rs. 56, 342—9—8 for the management of the temple. The Government managed directly the land endowments and from those lands received a net proceeds of Rs. 17,420 per annum.[94] In 1843, the Estate was transferred to the *Rajah* of Khurda. On November 27, 1843, the Collector of Puri informed the Commissioner that the "*Sataeesi Hajari Mahal*" had been transferred to the *Rajah* of Khurda, as superintendent of the affairs of the Temple. The Government donation to the Temple was reduced to a fixed sum of Rs. 35,738—7—6 pies per annum by the relinquishment of the *Sataeesi Hajari Mahal*.[95]

Such a big amount of the Government donation from the Treasury for the maintenance of the Temple led the Christian missionaries to raise a hue and cry once again both in India and abroad. The Court of Directors drew their attention and enquired over the matter. On April 4, 1843, they sent a Despatch to the Governor General in order to ascertain the grounds on which the Government paid such a big amount to the Temple. They also wanted to know the ground on which Lord Auckland in his minute of November 17,1838 specified that "Our promise of the allowance for the support of the Temple is distinct and unconditional." With reference to the

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loss of life among the pilgrims, the Government was required to ascertain the truth as might be practicable.[96]

The missionaries bitterly opposed the provision of the financial assistance to the Jagannath Temple as per Act X, 1840. In their writings and in the petitions to the Court of Directors and the Government of India, they criticised the Government patronage of Jagannath which they called anti-Christian. The missionary propoganda led the Court of Directors to decide to cease the Government connection with the Temple.

William ward, a missionary of serampore, condemned the continuation of the annual payment "to the shrine of Jugger-naut with its Golgothas of disease and death." Ward pointed out there was no need to support Jagannath Temple which received contributions and endowment from all parts of India.[97]

In 1841, peggs, a former missionary of Orissa, who was at that time in England, wrote a letter to Viscount Melbourne, first Lord to Majesty's Treasury, on the Present State of British connection with Idolatry in India at each of the four Provinces and the island of Ceylon.[98]

In 1843, the B.M.S. Home Committee sent petition to the House of Parliament against the connection between the Government of India and the Idolatry at the superstitious land. On the same subjects the committee also forwarded memorials to the Court of East India Proprietors and to the President of the Board of Control. The first of these memorials was presented by Poynder who, however, postponed a motion on the subject till September in consequence of Sir Robert Peel having stated, in the House of Commons, that a Despatch upon the question at issue had already been sent to India. The memorial to the President of the Board of Control was presented to the Earl of Ripon, by William Evans and Peggs.[99] The petitioners pointed out that they were connected with the missionary operations in Bengal, Orissa and in many parts of India. In the petitions they described the misery and blamed the Indian Government for that. They requested the Government to take such steps

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so that the Government's connection with the temple would entirely cease. In a letter to Robert Peel they wrote on the Present State of British connection with idolatry in India and Ceylon and in particular of "the established, Government donation" for the support of the temple of Jagannath in Orissa.[100]

In Orissa the missionaries at the Cuttack conference in November 22, 1845 brought the following resolution regarding the Jagannath Temple. The result "it is indeed true that Government have restored certain lands to the proprietors of the temple and abolished the pilgrim tax, they have moreover ceased to receive the presents and other emoluments connected with the idol and thus they have done well ; but the Government do still infact, though in another form contribute more largely than before to the support of the idol, in as much as they have not relinquished the lands and other emoluments of the temple from which they formerly received a revenue, but have added an annual donation of Rs. 35,000 while they allow the proprietors of the temple to receive all presents and levy any contributions they please on the pilgrims ; so that a much larger source of revenue than ever is now opened to the *Rajah* and other interested parties."[101]

The missionaries believed that Lord Auckland committed an error when he listened to the advice of the functionaries in Orissa rather than to that of his Council, and disobeyed orders of the Directors by giving the sanctions of Government to a donation which was "not in the original bond." In the resolution they also remarked that at every other temple in India, the priest is permitted to levy whatever contributions he pleases and to establish his own scale of fees according to the supposed value of the spiritual advantage of his shrine. But the priests at Jagannath were positively forbidden by the distinct regulation...... because Government had resolved to take on itself to provide for the expenses of the temple out of the proceeds of the pilgrim tax.[102]

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The missionaries in the resolution concluded the continuation of the yearly grant to Jagannath "as most anti-Christian in itself, and as an act of partiality towards the idol which is inconsistent with the neutral position, the Government profess to sustain towards all systems of religion in India."

On May 13, 1847 some members of the General Missionary Society went on deputation to Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, and presented a Memorial, in which they referred to the frustration of 'Christian public,' for the grant of Rs. 36,000 from the British Treasury to support Juggernaut.[103]

In 1848, Peggs wrote a letter to Henry St. George Tucker, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company regarding the Government Grant to the Jagannath Temple. In that letter Peggs quoted the views of important authorities, officers and missionaries of Orissa regarding Jagannath Temple.[104] In one portion of the memorial Peggs quoted the view of Lacey, a missionary of Orissa, as follows :—

"The plea for this infamous donation has been shifted from ground to ground ; the past plea was pledge, which is proved never to have been given. The absence of any such pledge led to an order for the abolition of the pilgrim tax. A new plea is instituted, that of the Sayer duties. They were thought untenable grounds while a supposed better plea existed, but no sooner is it discovered that no pledge exists than the unjust, the barbarous, the defunct Sayer duties are revived and start up assuming dimensions, strength, and importance sufficient to support the reasonings and legislations of grave rulers and Christian politicians for the support of a wasting, devastating system of idolatry ?"[105]

On March 29, 1850, a memorial signed by fifteen Baptists and twenty two other missionaries was presented to the Court of Directors requesting to discontinue the grant from Government's Treasury to the temple of jagannath as that temple encouraged 'vice, suffering loss of life and other evils.'[106]

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The memorialists appealed to the Court of Directors and narrated how the pilgrims believed that the British Government had faith in the Divinity of Jagannath as it took interest for the worship of the deity to be celebrated on a magnificient scale. The *Pandas* and the priests influenced the mind of the pilgrims due to the Government's support to it. The priests and *Pandas* rebuked the missionaries publicly pointing them as enemies of Government that approved Hindu religion. Missionaries also described how a group of pilgrim hunters traversed the country in all directions to entice persons to come to see Jagannath. The memorialists also described the miseries of the pilgrims as most of them had seen their deplorable condition. Thus, they appealed to the Court of Directors to check the great evils and discontinue altogether the pecuniary support of the temple and to 'bring them under the benign influence of the true and holy religion of Christ.'[107]

At the Annual Conference of the Orissa missionaries held at Cuttack on 12th November, 1851, the following resolutions were adopted on the connection of the Government with the shrine at Puri :—

"Whereas the Christian public have for many years passed been led to hope that all connection between the Government of India and this profane idol should cease ; and whereas the Government have during the current year put forth the Draft of an Act giving rise to the confident expectation that they would bring a matter to a satisfactory adjustment ; and further more whereas the said Act has not been passed ; we, at a conference situated amidst the accursed influence of this most abominable system of idolatry feel ourselves called upon to renew our annual protest against this unholy connection—to express our conviction that the proposed Act dealt fairly with the parties interested in the shrine so that no further concession or grant is called for in equity ; and to declare that as Christian Missionaries, we cannot forbear to entreat the Honourable Government of India to meet the just expectations of the Chris-

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tian public by passing the above named Act in its integrity and without delay."[108]

On 12th August, 1852, David Edwards and other missionaries submitted a memorial to Lord Dalhousie (1848-56). In the memorial, they appealed to the Governor General to cease all connections with the Jagannath Temple and leave it to its own votaries. They also asked the Governor General to take immediate steps in this connection.[109]

In reply to the memorial of 12th August, 1852, the Governor General in Council intimated the steps taken by the Government to the missionaries of Calcutta and Orissa. The Government studied the reports of Groeme and Webb (respectively of 1805 and 1807) and intimated the missionaries regarding the Government's connection with the temple.

The Government ascertained that as per the settlement of 1845, the Government paid Rs. 23,321 towards the superintendence of the temple. Of that sum Rs. 6,804 a year was appropriated by the local authorities for the maintenance of an adequate police force to keep peace in the temple and its precincts, and to prevent the loss of life which too frequently occurred there especially at the time of festival.[110] In lieu of the remainder, the local Government had been directed to purchase lands yielding an annual net profit of Rs. 16,517 and to handover to them to the Rajah of Khurda as superintendent of the temple. After this the annual payment heretofore made by way of compensation would entirely cease.[111]

Again the Baptist missionaries of Orissa sent a petition to Lord Dalhousie on 5th December, 1853. It was signed on behalf of the Orissa Mission, by its Chairman I. Stubbins and Secretary, A. Sutton. The missionaries drew the attention of the Governor General that the Government's patronising of idolatry spread immorality, misery and death far and wide in India. They pointed out how the Government gratituously patronised idolatry in Orissa. Besides the Jagannath temple, the Government spent a lot towards other petty temples and

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their attendants under the head of Territorial Pensions by monthly payments at Cuttack.

In some parts of the Province women of ill fame were mixed up with idol temples and received their support from the Government. Thus, they appealed to the Government to cease all its connection with idolatry.[112]

On February 28, 1856, the Governor General in Council communicated to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to take immediate steps to discontinue from 1st May 1856, the annual payment of Rs. 23,321. He was also asked, in lieu thereof to purchase lands in the district of Khurda yielding an annual net profit of not less than Rs. 16,517 and to handover them to the *Rajah* of Khurda,[113] the superintendent of the temple.

From October 5, 1857 Tapanga with three villages from Rameswar was transferred to the *Rajah* of Khurda, the superintendent of the temple. With this transfer, the Government's payment to the temple practically ceased, except the payment of Rs. 6,804 for the maintenance of the police force.[114]

In 1859, the Court of Directors decided that in future the superintendent would be responsible for the preservation of peace inside the temple and that to maintain extra police outside if necessary on the occasion of great festivals and the sum of Rs. 6,804 hitherto paid direct to the police would be made over to the superintendent. Thus, the last link came to an end on 30th March, 1863 by the transfer of some more villages to the superintendent of the temple.[115]

Without the continued insistence of the missionaries, allied with English Evangelicals for over half a century the Government connection with Jagannath Temple would not have ceased. Those institutions provided ample money to the Company and the Company did not hesitate to become the 'church-warden' of the Hindu deities. The Orissa missionaries remembered the days when they were asked by the natives if "Jagannath be nothing as you say why does the Company take so much money of the pilgrims at the entrance of the town ?"

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and they became sure no pilgrims at Puri would ask such embarassing questions. The missionaries of Orissa brought an end to the Government's connection with Jagannath Temple and marked the final victory of the missionaries for which the missionaries of India struggled over for half a century. Their struggle led the Government to entrust the idolatrous administration in the hands of the natives.

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5. Mahaprasad— Holy food of Lord Jagannath.
6. Kotkhanjah— Lands allotted to persons or institutions both religious and social, for specific purposes by Kings, Zamindars and others, Monetary assignment in land.
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16. PP., HC., Vol. VIII, 1812-13, Paper 194, p. 41 ; BJ (C) P, No. VIII, April 3, 1806, Regulation IV of 1806.

17. Ibid.

18. PP., HC., Vol. VIII, 1812-13, Paper, 194, Clause XI, p. 42 ; "Government Connection with Idolatry in India," The Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII, January to June, 1852 (Calcutta, 1852), p. 125.

19. PP., HC., 1812-13, op. cit, Regulation IV, 1809, p. 81.

20. The Regulation and Laws in Bengal, Vol. VI, Regulation IV of 1809, Section 3-7 ;
PP., HC., 1812-13, op. cit. ;
James Peggs, pilgrim Tax in India (London, 1830), pp. 7-8.

21. "Holy Land,"
The area between river Baitarani and river Rushikulya was called Holy Land and the inhabitants of that area were known as *desis*.

22. Kangals—Destitutes.

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23. PP., HC., Vol. VIII, 1812-13, op. cit., Regulation XI, Section III and IV.
24. K. M. Patra, Orissa under the East India Company (New Delhi, 1971) p. 225.
25. James Peggs, Letter to Melbourne...op. cit., pp. 40-41 ; "Jagannath," The Friend of India, Vol. VII, No. 344, Aug. 5, 1841, p. 488 ;
James Peggs, A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury on the Present State of British Connextion with Idolatry in India and Ceylon, and particulars of "The Established Government Donation," for the support of the Temple of Juggernauth, in Orissa (London, 1843), p. 9.
26. J. M. Strachan, Juggernaut : Its Present State, Under British Patronage and Support, as settled by Lord Auckland (with an Introductory Letter to Lord Fitzerald and Vesci) (London, 1843), p. 42.
27. Butwa—Pilgrim Guide.
28. Peggs, Letter to Melbourne...op. cit. pp. 25-26 ; PP., HC., 1840 Vol. XXXX, Paper 621, p. 357, para-39.
29. Robert Lee Lacey, op. cit., p. 8.
30. Potts, op. cit., p. 163 ;
PP., HC., 1812-13. Vol, VIII, P. M. 597,
Paper Relating to the Temple of Jaggernauth.
31. Claudies Buchanan, The Christian Researches in Asia (London, 1812), pp. 18-19.
32. Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., p. 156 ;
Buchanan, The Christian Researches in Asia, op. cit., p. 31.
32 -A. Missionary papers for the use of the Weekly and monthly contributors to the Church Missionary Society (London, 1817); Vol. V, pp. 1-4 and Vol. VII, 1817.
33. Ibid.
34. PP., HC., 1812-13, Paper 142, para 46, p. 46 ;
No. 6, Copy of a Letter from Governor General in Council to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors dated 2nd November, 1807 ; Relating to Missionaries.
35. PP., HC., 1812-13, Vol. VIII, Temple of Jaggernaut, Letter from C. Buller to the Court of Directors, 19th May, 1813, pp. 1-3.
36. PP., HC., 1812-13, Vol. VIII, Idol Jaggernaut : Rev. C. Buchanon to the Court of Directors, 25th May, 1813, p. 1 ;
PP., HC., 1812-13, Vol. X, Idol Jaggernaut, June, 1813, pp. 1-4 ;

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Kenneth Ingham, Reformers in India, 1793-1833 (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 36-37.

37. Mukharjee..., Jagannath Temple, op. cit., p. 210.
38. G. Toynbee, A Sketch of the History of Orissa (1803-1828) (Calcutta, 1873), pp. 81-83 ;

    Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 423 ;

    PP., HC., 1812-13, Paper 194, p. 512 ; Extract Revenue Letter From Bengal, 12th Feb. 1811 ;

    Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 33 ;

    Hamilton, Description of Hindostan, Vol. II (London, 1820) p. 54.
39. Stirling, op. cit., p. 126 ;

    At Jagannath, thirteen festivals are held.

    (i) Chandana—A sweet scented powder ;
    (ii) Snana— The Bathing Festival ;
    (iii) Ratn— The Car Festival ;
    (iv) Bahura— The Returning Festival ;
    (v) Shayana— The Lying down Festival ;
    (vi) Janma— The Birth Festival ;
    (vii) Kojugara—The Waking Festival ;
    (viii) Rasa— The Rasa Festival ;
    (ix) Urana— The Warm clotning Festival ;
    (x) Abh sheka—The Anointing Festival ;
    (xi) Macura— A shine of Zodaic ;
    (xii) Dola— The Swinging Festival ;
    (Xiii) Ramnabami--Ram's birthday.

    Peggs, Pilgrim Tax in India, op. cit., p. 6 ;

    Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 51-53 ;

    Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 43.
40. Toynbee, op. cit., p. 62.
41. Peggs, Pilgrim Tax in India, op. cit., p. 12 ;
    Stirling, op. cit., p. 127 ;

    A Statement of Pilgrims of all classes who attended the three great festivals from 1817-18 to 1821-22.

Year	*Paying Tax*	*Exempt*	*Total*
1817-18	35,941	39,720	75,661
1818-19	36,241	4,870	41,111
1819-20	92,874	39,000	1,31,874
1820-21	21,946	11,500	33,446
1821-22	35,160	17,000	52,160

42. Peggs, India's Cries to British Humanities (London, 1831), p. 85 ;
    "The Puri Car Festival of 1852", C. C. O., Vol. XIII, No. 153 (N. S.), p. 389 ;

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Sixty thousand pilgrims attended the festival. "Recent Festival at Juggernaut," The Friend of India, Vol. VII, No. 341, July 15, 1841, p. 437.

"Two festivals lately held in the first year after the abolition of tax. The assemblage this year has been larger than for a many year past. The crowd at the bathing festival is estimated at a hundred thousand; that at the festival of the Car at double number."

"Puri Ruth Jatra of 1850," C. C. O. Vol. XI, No. 130, (N. S), October, 1850, pp. 456-458;

Sixty thousand pilgrims attended the Car Festival.

43. The Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII, op. cit., p. 128;
P. Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 200.
44. Ibid, p. 201.
45. 'Rath Jatra' (Car Festival), 'Chandana Jatra,' and 'Snana Jatra' (bathing festival) attracted many pilgrims in comparison to other important festivals of Puri.
46. K. M. Patra, Orissa Uuder the East India Company (New Delhi, 1971), p. 246;
Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, General (Sanitation) Department, August, 1871;
F. J. Mout, Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces to the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 998, Alipore, 27th February, 1868.

From 1842 to 1866, two thousand four hundred and thirty one people died of cholera at the charitable dispensaries and jails in Puri.
47. Patra, op. cit., p. 247.
48. "The Great Shrine of Jogonnath," C. C. O., Vol. X, No. 117 (N. S.) September, 1849, pp. 389-417.
49. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 150.
50. Ibid, p. 151;
Peggs, India's Cries......op. cit., p. 511.
51. Stacy, op. cit., p. 137.
52. Sutton's Narrative, op. cit., p. 55.
53. Kaye, op. cit., p. 370.
54. Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 73.
55. William Ward, Views of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus, Vol. II (London, 1822) pp. 126-128, 318;
Missionary Register, 1824, p. 578;
Missionary Intelligence, Quarterly Circulars, No. XIII, March, 1823.

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56. Peggs, Rise and Progress...op., cit., p. 192.
57. Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 40.
58. Ward, op. cit., pp. 126, 128, 318 ;
Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., pp. 35, 36 ;
Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 300.
59. Ibid, p. 301.
60. Ingham, op. cit., p. 39 ;
"Letter from Charles Metclafe, to Rev. Mr. Peggs relative to the Government connection with Idolatry," The Friend of India, Vol. IV.
61. Ingham, op. cit., p. 39.
62. Ibid, p. 40.
63. Friend of India (Quarterly) Vol. XIII, October, 1825, pp. 270-71.
64. Peggs, Rise and progress, op. cit., p. 269-70.
65. Carey, (ed) Oriental Biography, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 563.
66. "First Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission," Calcutta Missionary Herald, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 54.
67. Carey (ed.),...Biography, Vol. II, p. 263.
68. Ibid, p. 264.
69. Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., p. 265 ;
"The Car Festival at Puri," C. C. O., Vol. IX, No. 106, October, 1848, pp. 460-67 ;
C. C. O., Vol. X, No. 117, op. cit., pp. 390-417 ;
C. C. O., Vol. XI, No. 130, op. cit., pp. 456-458 ;
C. C. O., Vol. XII, No. 141, op. cit., pp. 403-407 ;
C. C. O., Vol. XIII, No. 153, op. cit., pp. 384-392.
70. Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., p. 266.
71. Peggs, India's Cries, op. cit., p. 326 ;
C. Buchanon, Memoir of Expediency of Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India (London, 1812), p. 62 ;
Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., p. 178.
71-A Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 12.
72. Peggs, India's Cries, op. cit., pp. 120, 141, 142 ;
Peggs, Letter to Peel, op. cit., p. 1.
73. Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 61 ;
Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 212.
74. G. Poynder (ed.), Extracts from Three speeches delivered by John Poynder at the East India House in the years 1830, 1836 and 1839. Demonstrating the Direct Support and Encouragement given by the Company to Idolatry (London, 1857), p. 5.
75. Ibid, pp. 6-9.

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76. Asiatic Journal (N. S.), Vol. IX, 1832, pp. 96-97.

77. PP., HC., 1837, Vol. 43, Paper 357, Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council Miscellaneous, Revenue Department, No. III, Feb. 20, 1833.

    Bentinck recorded his view regarding the pilgrim tax in his Minute of March 25, 1831. His view was : "He deems it the bounden duty of a Government ruling over a Hindoo and Mussalman community, and professing a respect for their religion and customs, to protect and aid them in the exercise of those harmless rites, which are not opposed, like Suttee, infanticide and self-immolation to the dictates of humanity, and of every religious creed ; that he, therefore, thinks that all those places of pilgrimage, with those who frequent them, are upon principle entitled to our special care; that a tax upon pilgrims is just and expedient."

78. PP., HC., Vol. 43, 1837, Paper 357, No. 3, of 1833—Miscellaneous, Revenue Department 20th Feb., 1833, Court of Director to the Governor General in Council.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid, para 62, p. 14 ;
    The Calcutta Review, Vol. XVII op. cit., pp. 152-153.

81. D. P. Sinha, Some Aspects of British Social and Administrative Policy in India during the Administration of Lord Auckland (Calcutta, 1969), p. 127 ;
    PP., HC., Vol. 43, Court of Directors to Governor General in Council, Miscellaneous, Revenue Department, No. 3, February 20, 1833.

82. Sinha, op. cit., p. 127.

83. Asiatic Journal (N. S.), Vol. XIX, Part II, p. 85.

84. Asiatic Journal (N. S.), Vol. XXI, Part II, September 1836, pp. 173-175.

85. Bengal Revenue Despatches, 22nd February, 1837, India, Office Records E-4/748, quoted in P. Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 177.

86. Poynder (ed.), op. cit., pp. 15-16.

87. Ibid., pp. 20-32.

88. Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 212 ;
    Kaye, op. cit., pp. 428-429.

89. Sinha, op. cit., p. 143.

90. Potts, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

91. Kaye, op. cit., p. 429.

92. PP., HC., 1840, Vol. 37, pp. 205-207, 223, Correspondence Relating to the abolition of certain Pilgrim Taxes in India.

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93. J. T. C., Part-II, Collector of Puri to Commissioner of Cuttack, May 6, 1840 ;
Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 10 ;
Peggs, Letter to Peel, op. cit., p. 4 ;
"Abolition of the Pilgrim Tax," The Friend of India Vol. VI, No. 272, March 12, 1840, p. 161.
94. PP., HC., 1857-58, Vol. 42, Paper 71, pp. 45-46 ;
Correspondence relating to Missionaries and Idolatry ;
C. C. O. Vol. X, No. 117, op. cit., p. 417.
95. PP., HC., 1857-58, Vol. 42, Paper, 71, op. cit., p. 46 ;
Laurie, op. cit., p. 325.
96. "The Late Car Festival at Puri," C. C. O., Vol. VII, No. 80 (N. S.), Aug. 1846, p. 531.
97. Mukharjee, op. cit., p, 287.
98. Peggs, Letter to Melbourne, op. cit., p. 7.
99. Peggs, Letter to Peel, op. cit., pp. 1-49 ;
Peggs, Rise and Progress, op. cit., pp. 269-270.
100. Peggs, Letter to Peel, op. cit., p. 9.
101. Sutton, Evangelization, op. cit., p. 134 ;
"Government connection with Jagannath," C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. VII, No. 73, pp. 32-33.
102. Sutton,...Evangelization, op. cit., p. 135.
103. Mukharjee, op. cit., p. 289.
104. James Peggs, The Government Grant to Juggernaut : A Letter to Henry St. George Tucker, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (London, 1848), pp. 1-49.
105. Ibid, p. 41.
106. PP., HC., 1851, Vol. 41, page 321-323, "Paper on the connection of the Government of India with Idolatry or with Mahometanism" ;
BRP., No. 43, May 29, 1850.
107. BRP, No. 43, May 29, 1850.
108. "Resolution of the Orissa Missionary with Reference to Jagannath," C. C. O., Vol. XIII, No. 145, Jan., 1852, pp. 8-9.
109. Correspondence Relating to Missionaries and Idolatry (East India), Vol. 42, op. cit. ;
C. Beadon, Secretary to Government of India, to Rev. D. Edward, No. 328 dated 28th February, 1856.
110. Ibid, p. 45 ;
"The Car Festival at Puri," C. C. O. (N. S.), Vol. IX, No. 106, October , 1848. p, 467 ;

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Buckley wrote to Paik the payment of 23,321 rupees annually by the Government to encourage idolatry.

111. Correspondence Relating to Missionaries and Idolatry (East India), Vol. 42, op. cit., From C. Beadon, Secretary to Government of India to Rev. D. Edward dated 28th February, 1856, No. 398, p. 44.

112. Correspondence Relating to Missionaries and Idolatry (East India), Vol. 42, op. cit., No. 399, C. Beadon, Secretary to Government of India to Rev. Messrs. Stubbins and Sutton in reply to their letter of the 5th December, 1853, p. 45.

113. Ibid, p. 44.

114. BRP, No. 17, November 5, 1857, Secretary to Government of Bengal to Secretary to Board of Revenue, October 30, 1857.

115. S. L. Maddox, Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Province of Orissa, 1890-1900 (Calcutta, 1900), p. 427 ;
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Herman Kulke, "King Without a Kingdom : The Rajahs of Khurda and the Jagannath Cult," South Asia, No. IV, October, 1974, p. 74 ;
K. M. Patra, "The Management of Jagannath Temple during the East India Company's Administration of Orissa," Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXXXVIII, January to June, 1969, Part I, No. 165, p. 78.

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5

The Missionary Activities Among The Tribal People : Khonds & Santals

In Orissa and its Tributary Mahals the aboriginal tribes, mainly, the Khonds, Santals, Saoras, Mundas, Parajas, Gadabas, Bhumijas and Juangs were found in a large number. The Santals, a large Dravidian tribe, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian were found in Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas. They were found in a large number in the interiors of Balasore and Mayurbhanj. In Mayurbhanj, and in two other countries tributary to the Raja of Mayurbhanj, they were scattered throughout. In every part of those countries their villages were numerous, being interspersed with Oriya villages. In the villages the number of houses Varied from ten to three hundred. Besides Santals, Bhoomijas were scattered throughout Mayurbhanj.[1] The Kondhs were found in Ganjam and Vizagpatam in the Madras Presidency, in the Orissa Tributary States of Boudh, Daspalla and Nayagarh, and at Angul and the Khandmals. They were also found in Central Provinces covering the northern parts of Kalahandi and south of Patna.[2] The Juangas were found in Keonjhar, Pallahara, Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj. The tribe was also called Patua from their women's habits of dressing in leaves.[3] The Bhumijas were found in large number in Mayurbhanj.[4] The habitat of the Saoras was Ganjam agency, Vizagpatam and Vizagpatam agency of Madras Presidency.[5]

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Section—I (Khonds) :

The Kandhs or Khonds are a Dravidian tribe in the hills of Orissa and neighbouring districts. The Oriyas called them Kandhs and the Telugu people Gonds or Kods. Both the words are derived from the Tamil word "Kandas", a hill. Others say it is derived from Kandara—an arrow.[6]

They lived in the midst of Oriya territory. Their habitat was the hills separating the districts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam in the Madras Presidency, and continuing north-wards into the Orissa Tributary States, Boud, Daspalla, and Nayagarh and crossing the Mahanadi into Angul and the Khondmals. The area further extended to the Central Provinces, covering the northern part of Kalahandi and the south of Patna.[7]

The British knew very little of the Khonds of Orissa before 1836, although some references to this tribe were made by the first Resident of Ganjam District in 1767. Though the Khonds were unknown to the Europeans till the Ghumusar disturbance, they were an interesting wild race who became known to the public due to the efforts of Government Officers and the Christian missionaries.[8]

The Khonds were a bold and fitfully labourious mountain peasantry of simple, but not undignified manners, upright in their conduct, sincere in their superstition, proud of their position as land holders and tenacious of their rights, wrote Captain Macpherson in the 1840s. They were an extremely religious people, their life in all aspects having a religious foundation. They were truthful and honest, unflinchingly loyal to their leaders and lovers of liberty. They never told a lie except when it was necessary to save the life of a guest. They were the men of words.[9] Their vices were indulgence in revenge, and occasional brutal passion. Drunkenness was universal.[10]

A strong feeling of clanship among all classes of people characterised the Khonds social set up. The people were divided into localised agentic clans, "the relations between clans

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being institutionalised either in friendliness or in hostility." The boundaries of each clan were fixed. The clan solidarity was re-enforced by various ritual means. Among the Khonds, a class called *Panas*[11] also lived. They were a clever and business-like people and cheated the Khonds in all possible ways. In spite of that the Khonds consulted them in all important matters even in boundary disputes between clans. The Rajas, who were Oriyas, managed relations with the Khonds through the officers called *Patros*[12] and Bissoyees.[13] The Khonds lived on agriculture, forest produce and hunting. Their wants were very few and mostly locally met. They produced crops like turmeric, oil seeds, ginger, herbs, honey and *Mouhya* flowers.[14] Agriculture was practised by the Khonds with a degree of skill and energy. The *Maliah* (mountain) Khonds were rich in every species of agriculture stock. They had large herds of bullocks, buffaloes and numerous flocks of fine goats and abundance of swine. Their hamlets also teemed with poultry. The Khonds imported cattle, metal cooking utensils, ornaments, coarse cotton cloth, beads, salt-fish and few other necessaries of life from the nearby markets. The Khonds depended upon the markets for the imported things for which they did not get a fair deal as they were exploited by the Panas the middle men. Barter economy prevailed—the usual exchange for a yoke of cattle in the 1840s being six hundred seers of paddy. With the contact of British, the Khonds got a new source of income as some of them were engaged as labourers to make roads. They used to come with the local products to British Officers' camps for sale.[14-A]

The Khonds of the Kandhmals recognised three principal Gods—Dharma-Pennu, Saru Pennu and Taru Pennu. No regular time or season was fixed for Dharma Pennu's worship and he was appealed to only in cases of illness or at the birth of a child. Saru Pennu was the God of the hills. Taru Pennu was the Earth God.[15]

The Khonds were divided into two sects. One called Bura,

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worshipped the Supreme God under that name, and held human sacrifice in abhorrence. The other sect devoted themselves to Tari, the Earth Goddess. Her votaries performed human sacrifices in her honour. Human sacrifice was common and numerous among the Khonds. It was otherwise known as the *Meriah*[16] sacrifice. They offered sacrifices at a yearly festival, held about the full moon in January. Human sacrifice was a social institution as much as it was a religious rite. Sacrifices were made either for propitiation of Gods or for prevention of diseases and natural calamities. The Earth Goddess *Tari* was periodically propitiated for the maintenance of the fertility of the soil. To ensure immunity from accidents, they observed the rites. The flesh of the victim was believed to be endowed with a magical power of fertilizing the land. Thus, the pieces of the victim's flesh were buried in fields. They had a belief that the blood caused the redness of the turmeric—the chief product of the Khond lands and the tears caused rain. So the method of putting the victim to death was made deliberately painful.[17]

The Khonds purchased the victims. Unless bought with a price, they were not deemed acceptable to the Goddess. Victims from their own tribe were not procurable. The agents, mainly *Panas*, sometimes purchased but more frequently kidnapped the children whom they sold to the Khonds. They occasionally sold their own offsprings without any hesitation. The victims might be of any caste or religion.[18]

Female Infanticide was another cruel custom prevalent among a few Khond tribes of the Ganjam district. Among the tribes to the west-ward of Soordah, the destruction of female children was common. It was practised in the middle Khond region except Digi and Bodoghoro. She 'infanticidal' Khonds had no belief in the efficacy of the *Neriah* Sacrifice.[19]

The Khonds believed that it was their manliness to marry the daughter of foreign countries only. But to give daughters in marriage to others they considered degrading. G. E.

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Russell of the Madras Civil Service in a report dated August, 1836, first brought the subject to the notice. Major Macpherson reported in April, 1842 that in many villages he did not find a single female child. The causes assigned were, first, that male births were increased by the destruction of female infants. secondly, that it was better to destroy girls in their infancy than to allow them to grow up and become causes of strife afterwards. The expenses of marriage rites was another cause cited by him.[20]

Campbell noted that the Khonds of Surada observed the rite as their forefathers did it.[21]

To suppress the Meriah sacrifice, the Government of Madras as well as Bengal took drastic steps and rescued hundreds of meriahs. The authorities appointed and entrusted G. E. Russell, Captain William Macpherson, Captain Frye, John Cadenhead, Lt. Colonel Campbell, Lt. Hill and Mc. Neill to take steps regarding the Meriah sacrifice at different periods. As Meriah sacrifice was extensively practised in the hill tracts of Ghumsur and the neighbouring tracts of Boudh and Daspalla of Bengal Presidency, the Government of India realised the need for united action throughout the tracts inhabited by the Khonds. Hence in September, 1845, the Government of India created a new establishment to deal with the problems of the hill tracts inhabited by the Khonds. Act XXI, of 1841 was passed and it created an Agent to the Governor General of India whose main duty was to suppress human sacrifice and female infanticide. He was commonly known as the Meriah Agent or the Hill Agent. He had a staff of European Officers, a principal assistant and two Junior Assistants and a few Indian subordinates.[22]

In November, 1845, Captain Macpherson, arrived in Ganjam with the title of "Agent, Governor General, for the suppression of human sacrifices and female infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa."[23]

From 1837 to 1845, the Madras authorities had taken steps.

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for rescuing the Meriahs of their jurisdiction and their officers, by following the policy of the persuasion and repression, had saved many victims. Campbell rescued one hundred and twenty five victims.[24] S. C. Macpherson in 1843-44, rescued two hundred and fifty five lives from sacrifice. He from infanticidal tracts of Surada, Karada and Sana Khemundi rescued one hundred and seventy children and gave the rescued female Meriahs in marriage to Khond Chiefs of the "infanticidal tracts."

Thus, the Government officials' attempt led to the protection of the lives of many *Meriahs* from 1837 to 1861 when the *Meriah* Agency was abolished. The policy of advice and persuasion of the Government was criticised by the Christian missionaries as that did not yield much results. The missionaries since 1837 reflected through the "*Friend of India*" and other newspapers the horrors of the practice and sometimes criticised Government policy of persuasion, oppression and advice. The missionaries appealed to Auckland's Government to take steps in that connection.[25]

By April, 1853, twelve hundred and sixty victims had been rescued in all years. Between 1837 to 1854, as many as fifteen hundred and four *Meriahs* were rescued by the Government.[26] Dr. John Buckley, a missionary of Orissa, estimated that Government rescued seventeen hundred victims from the horrible rite.[27]

John Clark Marshman pointed out in the *Friend of India*. "In eighteen years a crime worse than any known in Europe has been eradicated. Twelve hundred and sixty human beings have been preserved from a horrible death. An entire people has been induced to forego a cruel practice sanctioned by antiquity and by superstition and a district as large as Wales has been raised a whole degree in the scale of civilization."[28]

The Government took up a most considerate attitude towards those rescued *Meriahs*. Some were given to their near and dear ones; Some were given for adoption to gentlemen

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of social status ; and many were settled as cultivators, with the Government assistance. Some of the rescued *Meriahs* were entrusted to the care of the missionaries of Orissa. The rescued men and women were given chances of service in Government as bearers etc.[29]

The missionaries received monthly allowance from the Government for each Meriah child for their upbringing at rupees three per child. They were reared up by them in Cuttack, Berhampur and Balasore orphanages. The first Meriah was given to the missionaries of B. M. S. at Berhampur. To the Orphanage of B. M. S. in Cuttack in 1849, Colonel Campbell sent as many as seventy nine Meriahs in a day. In fifteen years not less than two hundred and fifty Meriahs were taken care of by the missionaries. Missionaries like the Buckleys, Hills, Suttons, Wilkinsons and Stubbins of the B. M. S. took care of them.[30]

The asylums established by the missionaries provided education to the *Meriahs* as well as to the children of native Christians. They were imparted education as the students were taught in common Government Schools. Their course consisted of Reading, Writing, Geography, Arithmetic and History. Besides that, they had religious education daily for some hours so far as the courses of the boys and girls department was concerned. They were imparted lessons on the sacred Scriptures, the Pilgrims' Progress, Henry and His Bearer, Baxter's Call etc. in Oriya. They also repeated numerous hymns, poems and Catechism. In Orissa missionaries confined their tuition entirely in the Oriya language. Both Oriya and Bengali were taught in Balasore. The *Meriahs* of Balasore read the history of Bengal in Bengali.[31]

The purpose of missionary education was to make them useful members of society ; to educate them morally, intellectually and physically. They laid stress on manual labours too. Thus, students, after completion of six hours of study, had to attend three hours manual work. They were educated in

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tailoring, weaving, gardening, printing and book-binding. The girls were taught house-wifery. They were taught to sew, knit and mark and all of them learnt to spin. The object of the missionaries was to make them sensible, moral, industrious and pious young women. They also aimed to make them good house wives for the native Christians.[32]

The rehabilitation of the *Meriah* children after their schooling was an important task gladly done by the Orissa missionaries. In the orphanages the missionaries changed the old names of the *Meriahs* and called them by Christian names; however, they did not forget their old names. The missionaries brought almost all the *Meriahs* to the fold of Christianity.[33]

The Orissa missionaries took interest to arrange marriage for them and it was found that in most cases, boys and girls of Berhampur Asylum were engaged with the boys and girls of Cuttack Asylum. Marriage of Jacob with Dukhi, Peter with Mula, Rachel with Danial were some of the examples. After marriage, they left the Asylums and settled in the Christian villages, established by the missionaries. Some of them were also employed as preachers and teachers of their own tribe. At Cuttack, many of the older boys were selected to go to the B. M. S. farm near Cuttack, where they learnt to clean and till the jungle and to build the Christian village where they dwelt. At Berhampur, the missionaries provided land at Padripalli where the *Meriahs* settled by tilling the land.[34] The A. F. B. missionaries, in order to rehabilitate the grown up *Meriahs*, provided financial assistance and after marriage asked them to settle at Shantipur, the Christian village. They bore all the expenses of the marriage and received financial assistance from the benevolent gentlemen of England and India as dowry money. In 1855, five *Meriah* boys got married and left for Shantipur to settle down.[35]

Immediately after the exploration of the *Khond* territories, the missionaries thought to commence a mission station there. In order to know the land, the people and their culture, W.

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Brown, a missionary, made an extensive tour of Khondisthan. He was convinced that the Baptist missionaries could easily establish a mission station there to preach Christianity among them. Brown opined that if they would be educated and brought under civilising influence, they would be the most devoted Christians. He thus, communicated to the editor of '*Calcutta Christian Observer*' as early as 1837 on Khonds and their culture for publication. Later on, Sutton, Stubbins and Buckley proposed to establish a mission station in Khond territory. They appealed to the public regarding the proposal to establish a mission station there through various newspapers and journals.[36]

In 1845, Sutton proposed to start mission work among them because by that time mission had rescued several *Meriahs* who knew the Khond language. He was very much hopeful that *Meriahs* would help the missionaries in all respect in preaching Christianity among the Khonds. He pointed out that the mission stations of the General Baptists were established in important places from where they would easily proceed to Goomsur, and the southern bank of Mahanadi to establish mission stations there. Sutton was hopeful that with the help of the educated *Meriahs* and with the financial assistance of the Government, they would be able to establish schools for the Khonds.[37]

The General Baptist missionaries again issued circulars to different parts of India soliciting help for the establishment of a mission station in the Khond tract. At the Cuttack Conference of January, 1862, Stubbins, a missionary, was requested to prepare a circular soliciting the aid of Christians in various parts of India to establish a Khond Mission with Baptist denomination. The missionaries were hopeful because those tribes, inhabiting the hill tracts of Orissa were more accessible to them than to any other mission. The Baptist missionaries had brought up many Khond youths who would render valuable aid in the acquisition of the language. By that time the

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B.M. Press also had printed some literature in Oriya character and those would be supplied to the *Khonds* if the Baptist missionaries would commence missionary operation there. Many *Khonds* knew the missionaries and some *Khonds* visited the missionaries occasionally and were impressed, having seen the good lives of Khond youths (*Meriahs*).[38]

In spite of the proposals by the missionaries to commence a mission station in the Khond territory, the General Baptist. Missionary Society had not taken any step till 1862. At the Annual Meeting of the G.B.M.S. in England in June 1862, a proposal was made to locate two missionaries at Russelkonda as a mission station was already established on the plains twelve miles from the hills. It was also proposed that two missionaries would make Russelkonda their base and from there, they would proceed for preaching to Khond hills.[39]

In spite of the proposal of the G.B.M.S. Committee, no permanent station was made in the Khond tract. The missionary reports magazines dealt in detail with the woes of Khondistan as well as of the Orissa orphanages where many of the *Meriahs* were brought up by the missionaries. John Orissa Goadby in 1860, sent a message to the Orissa Mission Committee: 'If the opening of a station in Russelkonda is approved, I authorise you to give my name as a candidate for its establishment."[40]

Goadby was stationed at Russelkonda to work for the Khonds. In 1862-63, during his cold season tour, he made reports on the land, the language and faith of its people. Again in the three extensive tours in 1865, in cold season, he explored the various gate ways into the hills. Goadby and his wife served the Khonds till 1867 when he was transferred to Pipli to serve the famine orphans. He died at the young age of 38 in 1868.[41]

Till 1873, the work among the *Khonds* was suspended. In 1873, William Hill visited the hill from Berhampur on a preaching tour. The two native evangelists-Niladri Naik and Bonjamini Mohanty, visited the *Khond* tracts and preached in one

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hundred and fifty villages. They were encouraged by Sarajib Naidu, the Sub-Magistrate of Udaygiri, to establish a mission station there.[42]

The appeal of Sarajib Naidu was responded to by Abuthar Wilkinson and Arthur Long, both men of Cliff College, Derbishire. They were followed by John wood at once. The G.B.M.S. at that time was deeply engaged in negotiations with the older and larger Baptist Missionary Society and did not make any fresh commitment by starting work in the Khond hills. But due to the zeal of Long and Wilkinson, an undenominational committee was formed and they came to Berhampur and stayed with the Baptist missionaries to study the Oriya language. After wood's arrival, the three missionaries with the advice of the Magistrate toured extensively the Khond tracts. They were repeatedly attacked with maleria and wood died in the Sub-Magistrate's house at G. Udaygiri within a few months of his arrival. Wilkinson and Long visited the Khond tracts for some years, making Russelkonda their base. In 1897, Wilkinson died of small-pox.[43]

In 1809, Gordon Wilkinson and F.W. Jerry made two months extensive tour to collect information regarding the Khonds. Arthur Long died in 1909.[44]

Cordial relations existed among the missionaries and the Government officials as both were interested in the prosperity of the Khonds. Frye attended the church services of the General Baptist Mission at Berhampur. He was baptised by the Baptish missionaries in December, 1845 at Berhampur. During the British expedition of Khondistan, he laboured hard to establish Khond schools. Due to his philanthropic attitude to the Khonds, the missionaries asked him to be a missionary for the Khonds which he refused.[45]

The Government officials assured help to the missionaries. When there was a proposal by Government to shift the head-quarters from Russelkonda to Balliguda, missionaries proposed to have a mission station at Balliguda instead of at Russel-

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konda. Sarajib Naidu, the Sub-Magistrate of G. Udaygiri, promised the missionaries to provide all types of help if they would establish a mission station there.

In regard to the rehabilitation of the *Meriahs* close co-operation existed between the Government officiale and the missionaries.[46]

In order to preach Christianity among the Khonds, the missionaries had to learn both Kui and Oriya languages. Goadby, Long and Wilkinson learnt Oriya at Berhampur and with the help of the rescued *Meriahs*, they knew *Kui*. The knowledge of Oriya and *Kui* enabled the missionaries to come nearer to the Khonds as some Khonds of the plain knew both Oriya and *Kui*. Goadby preached to the Khonds in *Kui* with the help of the rescued Meriahs.[47]

The missionaries got the opportunity of conversing with Khonds regarding Christianity when the latter came to *Hats*, for trading purpose and used to take shelter at night in Russel-konda. Missionaries have marked that the Khonds generally took interest to know about Christianity as they had no such prejudices like Hindus.[48]

Preaching was done both in *Kui* and Oriya. People gathered in a large number when the missionaries spoke in Kui. The missionaries did not face any obstacle while preaching to them as they generally faced in plain area. While preaching to the Khonds, they never criticised Gods or Goddesses as they were in the habit of doing in plain areas. Besides, there was none to challenge but to hear the sayings of the missionaries. Occasionally they had to face trouble and were compelled to stop preaching.[49]

Besides preaching, teaching was also given due prominence by the missionaries. But in comparision to the plain area, the number of schools in Khond tract was very less. O. J. Millman first started a school under a tree in *Kui* in Mallika-pori. In the Government schools, they were imparted education in Oriya and so the pupils were attracted towards the

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missionary *Kui* institution.[50]

Another department of missionary labour was to distribute the sacred Scriptures. They distributed the tracts and Scripture portions either written in *Kui* or Oriya.

The efforts of the Orissa missionaries resulted in the translation of sacred Scriptures into the *Khond* language. During the period under review, besides writing school books in *Khond* language, they published a number of tracts and sacred Scriptures.[51]

The missionaries of Orissa enriched the Khond literature. Though they wrote several portions of the Bible and Tracts in *Kui* language, it was first the British Officers who drew the attention towards the written script of the Kui language. J. P. Frye, an officer of the Madras Government, gave to the Kondh the first written from using the Oriya script which many of them knew. He wrote a primer of alphabet—a book of vocabulary and grammar and "a series of progressive reading lessons," in the *Khond* language. He wrote, "The Story of Joseph." Some portions of the New Testament were translated into Kui which was the first bit of Scripture to be published by him.[52]

The missionaries translated into Khond literature "Peep of Day," "Line upon Line," first part of "The History of Christ" and a Tract on "Drunkardness". In 1893, Abithur Wilkinson had completed the translation of St. Mark's Gospel into *Kui* using the Oriya script. It was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Later on, Heberlet's "Way of Salvation" was translated with the help of Luke Singh—a Russelkonda Christian. It was called Negi Katta—the Good Story. Thus during 19th century, the translation work was in Oriya script till the arrival of O. J. Millman, a Baptist missionary, who replaced it by Roman script in 1908. In 1915, the Gospel of St. Mark in *Kui* was printed in Roman script.[53]

The missionaries also published school books in *Kui*.

The missionary operation in the Khond tract had great impact in the traditional tribal society. They changed the

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outlook of the converts in various ways. With the contact of the missionaries and especially those who became Christians, they practically disallowed the tatooing their arms and faces. They started minimising the habit of drinking with the advice of the misssonaries or the native converts. Those who became Christians left the traditional pattern of worship and followed the principle of Christianity in worshipping Christ. Some of the rescued Meriahs also played an important role in changing the outlook of the *Khonds* in various ways. Thus, though the missionaries' activities with the Khonds did not yield a good number of converts, yet their contact changed their outlook.[54]

Section—II (Santals) :

In Orissa. the Santals were a hardy—industrious people, generally short, stout, robust, of broad features with very dark complexion, and hair somewhat curly. They were particularly mild and placable, of a very social turn especially with persons who spoke their language. They were more civil and courteous among themselves, and more hospitable to strangers.[55]

Santal women were frank and open, ready to converse even with strangers. The rites of hospitality were performed by the wife. Polygamy was allowed, though it would seem not to be very common, except in cases where a man took the widow of his elder brother according to the Santal custom by which he was entitled. All ate and associated freely together, there being neither high nor low caste among them. As to intermarriages, a Santal was not allowed to marry in his own clan, but he was to seek a wife from another tribe.[56]

Some of the important tribes were, the Muridi-had, Murmu-had, Hasda-had, Saren-had. The Murdi-had received a small amount of land rent free from their priestly services. The loss of caste, though a great bug-bear to a Santal, was by no means so serious an affair as among the Hindus.

Santals were fond of drinking, both old and young men were addicted to that vice. Missionaries observed that their habit of drinking was one of the obstacles in their elevation.

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Handia—the domestic liquor of the Santals, was prepared and used by young men and women.

The Santals were an agricultural people. During the dry season, they were much engaged in the preparation and sale of timber, firewood, charcoal, gums and other crude materials from the jungle. Barter economy was prevalent among them.[57]

The Santals, both male and female, were excessively fond of music and dancing. They gathered at the festivals in thousands annually.

The religion of the Santal was a strange mixture of Hindu superstition and demon worship. They had belief in witches and ghosts. The Santals worshipped the Sun as the Supreme God, but in Orissa, Lita or *Marang-Buru* was most honoured. In private and in public, by priests and people at all times in prosperity and adversity, Marang-Buru was invoked with prayers and offerings, such as goats, bullocks, fowls, rice etc.[58]

Abge-bonga was the name of the God worshipped by the separate tribe twice a year. At that time, rams, he-goats and red-cocks were offered ; and all the males of the tribe within a convenient distance, united in a general feast, prepared mostly from the slaughtered animals. No female was allowed to taste the food of the feast. As all that was not eaten on the same day, it was consumed by fire in the evening.

Rangkimi—a sanguinary Hindu Goddess was worshipped by the Santals in certain locations. Human victims were said to be sacrificed to that divinity for the purpose of obtaining wealth. J. Phillips, knew from the Santals after a close enquiry that only a few Santals offered such an offering occasionally and it was kept secret.[59]

The Santals swore by the skin of the tiger, or by the head of the same beast drawn on mango leaf. They also swore by their Gods and by the head of their children.[60]

In 1838, the Santals first began to attract the attention of the American missionaries working in Northern Orissa, and preaching tours began to be made into their settlement. When

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Eli Noyes, on 29th December, 1838, 'came to a small village in the heart of a dense jungle' somewhere on the borders of Bengal and Orissa a new factor was introduced in Santal History. In a few years, mission stations were opened in the Western portions of Midnapore district and Orissa. At that time comparatively few of them could speak Oriya language, for they kept themselves aloof from the Hindus. Those who had come into contact with the Hindus, avoided the missionaries. They were biased by the Hindus or the Hindus gave a wrong picture of the missionaries. Thus, at the approach of either a European or a missionary, the women hid themselves and the men fled to jungles.[61]

In 1841, Phillips and Bachelor made a tour among the Santals. Because of their heavy responsibility, however, no programme of work could be started among them until 1845, when a Santali teacher was brought and Phillips undertook to acquire the language.[62]

Acquaintance of the language, their medical skill, their help to the destitutes in time of need, economic help like providing a job. in mission or mission school after a little education etc. induced some Santals to embrace Christianity. On the other hand, loose caste rule, and their slackness of religion made the missionaries easy to infuse Christianity in their mind. Thus, to infuse Christianity the missionaries adopted the method of preaching, teaching and distribution of sacred Scriptures in Santali, Bengali and Oriya.[63]

When the missionaries arrived, the Santals had no written language, no priest-hood, and no temples and were addicted to an intemperate use of native intoxicants. It was from that group that the most numerous converts to Christianity had come. Just after their arrival, they started preaching the Gospels visiting various places. The missionaries used to visit market places, bathing ghats and other places of importance where they expected to meet a large number of people. They devoted time for itinerant preaching in the interior of the country once or twice

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a year. The American missionaries accompanied by the Indian converts visited various villages to preach Christianity. The missionaries also made occasional preaching tours during religious fairs. The missionaries told the Santals the worship of the Sun or Marang-Buru was useless. They spoke to them the miracles of Christ and appealed to have faith in Christianity. As the Santals had no such strong faith like Hindus in religious matters, they believed in the missionaries' saying.[64]

However, the missionaries faced difficulties, if the Brahmins were present in the Santal festivals or in any other preaching places. They troubled the preachers by their turbulent and boisterous meddling.[65]

Till 1845, the missionaries preached Christianity in Oriya medium, of which many of them could understand little. After the acquisition of Santali, they preached in Santali Missionaties had admitted when they preached the Gospel in Santali, the Santals paid great attention.[66]

During the preaching tours, the missionaries were received cordially by the Santals. In some villages, they welcomed the missionaries by beating the drums. All the villages within reach of the camp were visited once or twice during their stay. The missionaries generally preferred to stay or camp only in those villages where there were schools to aid the teachers. Noyes, Phillips, Bachelor, the early A.F.B. missionaries, had to face a lot of difficulties while preaching. The badness of road, the difficulties of procuring supplies, the reluctance of the people to afford assistance, the inclemency often of the weather, the absence of all official authorities to commence needed aid, as changes of bearers, carts and coolies or other means of conveyance etc. made missionaries' lives rather hard.[67]

The A.F.B. missionaries besides preaching, drew their attention to the development of education for the Santals. Noyes—a missionary of Balasore wrote in 1838 that while on a preaching tour in Mayurbhanj he found the Santal settlements were numerous. Noyes, as early as 1838, wished to know the

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desire of the Santals of Mayurbhanj regarding education and so he conversed with some of the Santals. To his utter surprise, they were not interested to read. Noyes noted ; "I inquired if any of them could read ; to which they replied, they were in wilderness and had no occasion to learn letters. Desiring in some way to bring them under the influence of the Gospel, I said ; if one of you will go with me to Balasore and learn to read, I will give him wages to return to teach the rest of you. They replied that I talked very well, and what I said might be true ; yet they had no desire to learn to read."[68]

Besides their lack of desire to read, several obstacles stood on the way of the missionaries to establish schools amongst them. The *Rajah* of Mayurbhanj, in whose territory the American missionaries first attempted to introduce Santal schools, opposed the movement. When asked for his help and encouragement in that effort for the benefit of the poor, ignorant people inhabiting his lands ; he replied that it would not do at all to educate the Santals, for should they learn to read, they would become disrespectful and would not honour the king.[69]

The policy of the Mayurbhanj *Rajah* towards them was not favourable. A lease of land in one of his villages was solicited for the purpose of erecting a school house for Santals. His reply was 'Illustrious Sahib, it is not proper to give a lease for land in that place to teach the Santals, because knowledge is designed for good people (those) of high caste ; teaching low caste people, those of mean origin, Ruarda, Chuarda, Santals etc. the dignity of all illustrious people and the authority of the rulers would at once become annihilated from the earth. This kind of consultation is, therefore, very improper."[70]

Another obstacle to the spread of education amongst the Santals was the policy of the Government towards the missionary education. The chief condition on which Government grants-in-aid was promised was that the instructions imparted in the Santal schools be exclusively secular. Missionaries wanted that

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the Santals should be taught the Gospels and the Scripture lessons besides the usual course to which the policy of Government did not permit. The missionaries managed the Santal schools rather Santal village schools for a long time without Government's aid.[71]

Intemperance stood in the way of progress of education among the Santals. Intemperance had closed the missionary schools, ruined the teachers and with a cruel hand beaten back the missionaries endeavours for the elevation of Santals. A missionary observed,[72] "Intemperance is their bane and a bar to all improvements. It breaks up our schools, keep the people in poverty and ignorance, and indisposes their minds to receive the Divine Message." Phillips, the missionary at Jollesore thus rightly pointed out : "Intemperance, poverty, gross superstition, indifference and even a contempt for learning have still to be encountered in our efforts to promote education."[73]

In spite of several obstacles, the missionaries opened schools for the Santals in different parts of Orissa and its Tributary States, where the Santals resided.

Before the commencement of new village schools, the missionaries adopted some methods. A superintendent and an assistant were employed to select location for school in the first instance, then to secure and instruct the teachers. They spent several days in each school when first opened, to instruct the teachers the mode of teaching. Each school was then visited once a month if possible, the Superintendent devoted one or two days to teaching and examining the classes. That course was necessary both for teachers and students, since none of them had ever taught before and consequently they must themselves be taught, before they could become competent teachers.[74]

Schools were small due to poverty of the people and teachers were Santals who looked upon the schools as their own. The missionaries during the preaching tours, halted in the villages where they had schools to help the teachers.[75]

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Phillips established the first Santal school in 1845. He succeeded in persuading several Santal lads to come to his station to attend the little elementary school. In addition to the school at Jollesore Patna, three little schools were opened in santal villages in the neighbourhood of the mission station, but those were closed very soon.[76] From 1854 to 1865 when Phillips had been to America, a little was done for the Santals. After his return from America, Phillips opened a training school at Shantipore in 1868.[77] From 1869 to 1873, several Santal village schools were opened by Santal teachers.[78]

By 1873, missionaries had been able to commence sixty five village schools. In 1874-75, of the 'D' *Pathsalas* in the district of Balasore, seventeen of which were scattered all over the Mayurbhanj jungle, were under the direct management of Phillips of Shantipore. In 1879, Phillips, after his thirty-five years of service in Orissa, retired from mission work due to ill health and hence, the management of all the *Pathsalas* was made over to the *Rajah* of Mayurbhanj.[79]

A small number of students attended the Santal schools. The attendance ranged from eight to fourteen. From 1845 to 1854, forty students had been imparted elementary education in Jollesore school. The students were receiving a little stipend for food and clothing at Jollesore. In 1873, in sixty five village schools, there were twelve hundred and twenty pupils including seventy-four girls.[80]

The missionaries taught in their schools alphabet to the beginners through teachers or preachers. These who were advanced were taught Arithmetic, Geography and grammar besides Scripture lessons. The missionaries did not allow in their institutions the Hindu religious books to be taught. They were taught in Santali, Bengali and Oriya.[81]

The missionaries stressed more on manual labour and thus students, after six hours study, daily attended three hours of physical work, such as agriculture carpentery etc.[82]

The missionaries had taken keen interest in the promotion

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of female education. They were of the opinion that if girls would be educated, then they would lead others. Prior to 1873, no Santal girls were seen in the jungle schools. The efforts of the missionaries enabled the girls' entry in those village schools. Phillips hoped that the Santal girls after the completion of their study would take part to educate the others. But it was not fulfilled. The Santal women did not utilise their knowledge and after the completion of course mixed with the mass of Santal women.[83]

The missionaries took special care for the education of the Santal teachers. For the said purpose, they trained the teachers at Shantipore Normal School which provided teachers to Santal villages schools of Orissa. They also conducted special teachers' convention for the training or drilling of the Santal teachers at Midnapore and Bhimpore of Bengal.[84]

The Santal students discontinued or left the schools for want of food or for service. Due to the scarcity of food, sometimes the missionaries temporarily suspended some schools. In Orissa, the Santals were so poor as not to be able to send their children to schools. Missionaries, in order to avoid that at the initial stage, provided some money to the pupils. Monthly allowances were also provided to the parents to secure permanent attendance of the students. Thus Phillips remarked, "The Santals almost invariably expressed a desire to have their children instructed ; but as constantly plead their poverty as an excuse for their neglect of all affords in that direction."[85]

The missionaries pleaded in journals and newspapers to the public as well as to Government to help the mission so that they would ameliorate the condition of Santals. They appealed to the Government to help the Santal students for their higher education by providing financial assistance, as scholarships amounting to rupees two or three a month.[86]

The missionaries supported the Santal schools, rather Santal village schools from various sources. The Home Society of the A. F. B. M. financed the Society's stations in Orissa.

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The missionaries utilized some amount towards the education of the Santals. They raised subscriptions from the natives as well as Europeans who were in India. The Government also aided the missionary schools on certain conditions.[87]

The Christian missionaries were the first to study and promote Santal language and culture. They introduced a script to the Santal language adopting the Roman script and adding various diacritical marks.[88] The Santals did not have a script of their own and at first the Bengali script was used followed by Devnagari script in some parts of Bihar. The Oriya script was used in Mayurbhanj. As early as 1852, Phillips published in Santali. An Introduction to the Santali language, using the Bengali script. Phillips revised an Oriya Geography for the aid of schools and translated the Scriptures into Santali.[89] In 1854-55, he translated the book of Genesis together with twenty Chapters of Exodus. The Gospel of Mathew and a tract of twenty pages dealing with essence of the Bible was also translated into Santali.[90]

Besides preaching and teaching, distribution of sacred Scriptures to the Santals was one of the important tasks of the missionaries. Missionaries distributed tracts and Scripture portions to the Santals since 1838. Most of the tracts, supplied by early missionaries, were written either in Bengali or in Oriya. It was ascertained by Bachelor when he had been to different parts of Sambalpur and Mayurbhanj, where the people showed the old tracts to him. They also supplied cloths, tracts and books from time to time.[91]

The missionaries realised that it was of no use to distribute the tracts to Santals as they were not able to understand either Bengali or Oriya tracts. Thus, after the publication of tracts in Santali, the missionaries distributed those to the Santals. They also entrusted the distribution of tracts to the native preachers and Santal school teachers who distributed to them who were able to read and understand.[92]

Medical skill of the A. F. B. Mission also attracted the

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Santals towards them. There the missionaries got the scope of preaching and relieving the patients. They also opened dispensaries to provide medicines to the sick and those who were unable to pay the expenses.[93]

Though the missionaries adopted different methods to preach Christianity among the Santals, their aim was to convert them to the fold of Christianity. Practically, the methods of preaching did not yield any result till 1840. Due to the distress or famine of 1840 several Santals became Christians. On that occasion Phillips remarked, "The great distress among the poorer classes of people occasioned by the scarcity of this year, induced them to give us their children. At another time it was next to impossible to get even the child of a beggar to educate on Christian principles, so great is the attachment to caste." Thus, conversion followed natural calamities such as ; famines and scarcities, when parents gave their children to missionaries in lieu of food.[94]

In other parts of Santal settlements in India, most of the early Christian converts, embraced Christianity in order to gain freedom from oppression. Wherever the oppression of the landlords and money lenders was mostly felt the Santals turned to the Christian missionaries who helped the down-trodden Santals to secure justice for themselves. The missionaries had been the foremost in bringing facts of oppression to the notice of the authorities. However, in case of Orissa, the misssonaries have not noted any such oppressive measures against the Santals taken by the Zamindars and hence, the Santals never embraced Christianity being oppressed by the Zamindars in Orissa as was the case with other parts of India.[95]

It was observed that most of the conversions had been in connection with the asylums under the missionaries' charge. The missionaries in their asylums reared the Santal children and changed their old names. In asylums both the Santals and Oriya boys stayed together, but the former did not like to mix with the latter. They liked to remain with the missio-

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naries separately. In 1845, two Santals, and in 1847 several Santals were converted by them.[96] In 1848, two school students were baptised.[96-A] A large number of Santals were converted during the 1866 famine.[97]

After conversion or baptism, the missionaries changed the names of Santals. That was of course not done in the case of Oriya converts. The Oriya converts retained their old names. The fact that most of the early Oriya converts retained their name is proof of the fact that the missionaries did not want them to be completely dissociated from their society. Christian names would have alienated them further more from the society.[98]

When a Santal was converted, the missionaries had to face difficulties but not in all cases as with the Oriya converts. In 1848, when two school students were baptised, the missionaries had to face opposition from among the Santals. Thus, a Santal was counted as outcaste among his own people, whenever he renounced his former superstitous faith and embraced Christianity.[99] The Santal converts also were not well treated by their near and dear ones occasionally. An aged Santal woman had persisted for more than seven years in giving her Christian husband his food separately, in order not to contaminate the caste of herself and her son.[100] Though the Santals were not bound by caste, the Santals sometime faced difficulties after the conversion. Difficulties which the new Oriya converts had to face were illustrated by Bachelor in "Christianity in Orissa" as follows :

"My son, if you become a Christian you can never come to my house again ; I never could give you food, though you were starving ; you will be disowned by your friends and become an outcaste, we shall even look upon you as dead and must perform your funeral ceremony."[101]

The caste system was not so rigid among the tribal Christian converts as without any difficulty they were received by their own tribe or caste when they left Christianity. Some

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Santal converts returned to their relatives from Christian community as they were unable to endure persecution which usually followed after conversion. The tribal community received them again into their community which was not possible in case of the Oriya converts.[102]

The missionaries conducted quarterly meetings where the native converts were ordained as preachers. In 1851, Mohes was publicly ordained to the work of the Gospel Ministry. Hutchins and Daniel P. Cilley, were received on probation, as preachers among the Santals. The Santals accepted Santal preachers readily and what they spoke or taught. The Santal converts were appointed as teachers too. Sometimes, the preachers were engaged in establishing and superintending the schools and also in preaching the Gospels. The missionaries also provided employment to the Santal converts in mission farms, schools etc. for which they were paid.[103]

Though the impact of Christian missionaries had not been felt by the majority of the Santals, it had influenced the lives of the Christians in various non-religious aspects. The missionaries sought to dissuade the Santals from their natural habit of excessive drinking. They also asked their converts not to participate in certain social dances. They considered the drinking of rice beer (Handia) as degrading and the dances as obscene. The pointing out by the missionaries of the obscene character of those dances led the converts to refrain from dancing in some cases. Habits of intemperance had been considered the greatest obstacle to the introduction of Christianity among the Santals; the Santals of the mission schools abstained from intoxicating drinks.

The missionaries of A. F. B. M., by conducting several annual conferences in Bengal, specially at Midnapore and Bhimpore, and Orissa, discussed many things which raised the Santal converts' morality. Therefore, Baptish Mission was based on thorough "total abstinence" principles. They themselves passed resolutions in favour of total abstinence. At

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Shantipore also, they conducted conference for some days at a stretch for the moral improvement of the Santals. The conferences had great impact on nominal Santals who in course of time embraced Christianity. Thus the missionaries by conducting several such conferences in Bengal and Orissa brought a change in the outlook of the Santals.[104]

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On the eve of the baptism of six Santals, J. Phillips remarked ; "It more than repays me to labour and toil of their instruction and the acquisition of their strange language : year, it is abundand recompense for all the labouring and suffering of 12 years of exile. God be praised that I lived to see this day."

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6

The Role of Christian Missionaries In The Famine of 1866 In Orissa

The famine of 1866, known as the Orissa famine, was the most disastrous natural calamity that befell the land.[1] About one million people, nearly one third of the total population of the province, died in the famine. Although it struck several districts of Bihar on both the banks of the Ganges and also the northernmost part of the Madras Presidency, the Ganjam district, the calamity was at its most intense form in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and the princely states of Orissa known as the Tributary Mahals.[2] The distress was so acute that even Hindus had to eat their dead children when there was no other means to avert death by starvation.[3]

The famine was indeed caused by a natural factor-inadequate rainfall—but for its aggravation not a little responsibility could be attached to the Government.[3-A] As the Secretary of State for India, Sir Strafford Northcotte, plainly admitted :

"This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country to the Government of this country, and to those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud. At the same time, we must hope that we might derive from lessons which might be of real value to ourselves, and that out of this deplorable evil, good of no insignificant kind ultimately arise."[4]

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In the three districts of the Orissa Division, Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, in the month of May, 1865, the rainfall was extremely meagre, – 13 inches, while the average was about 5 inches from June to October.[5]

The rainfall in Orissa and the Northern Circars was 25 percent below the average.[6] In Puri the outturn of the rice erop in 1864 had been short and the crop ultimately failed owing to the scanty rainfall in 1865. That year only 36.3 inches rain fell of which not more than 5.2 inches fell in September and none at all subsequently.[7] In Balasore by this time the rainfall was 52.60 inches of which 0.30 inches fell in October and none at all later.[8] At Cuttack 51.40 of rainfall fell, of which 7.44 fell in September and not more than 0.80, in December.[9]

That the Government failed to anticipate the impending calamity is borne out by two facts ; its callous disregard of the timely warnings given by subordinate district officers[10] and its non-interference with the heavy export of rice from Orissa to Calcutta and Ganjam.[11]

Before September 1865, rice was selling at very high rates,[12] and shops were closed, and, by October, roots were being eaten by people.[13] T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner's communication to the Government of Bengal on 27 October, 1865 spoke of no shortage of grain though he informed the Government of the prevailing distress.[14] The Government of Bengal sent Ravenshaw's report to the Board of Revenue, requesting them to suggest measures for mitigating the distress of the present scarcity.[15] However, the Board of Revenue paid no heed to the warnings sounded by the subordinate offices ; even reports of death by starvation failed to move them. From Balasore, H. Muspratt, the Collector, enclosed a petition of certain Zamindars praying for time to pay the revenue.[16] G. N. Barlow, the Collector of Puri, officially informed Ravenshaw of the first death from starvation. The Commissioner sent it to the Government on 14 November, 1865. Early in November

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Barlow's proposal to import rice into the district was rejected by the Board of Revenue.[17] Lacey, Superintendent of Police, Puri, visited Puri, Banpur and Parikud areas and submitted a report to the Collector on 25 November, 1865. He found people at Rahang and Chabiskud eating roots, herbs and leaves for want of rice.[18] On the same day, the Collector too telegraphed that starvation had taken place in Parikud and Malud and the number of death had increased. He urged that for the relief works at Cuttack-Madras and Cuttack-Puri road, grain be imported and stored to be given to the labourers in lieu of money. This was rejected by the Board.[19]

On 26 November, Barlow wrote a demi-official letter to R.B. Chapman, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, drawing his attention to the distress and starvation at Parikud, Malud, Bajrakote and Balabhandrapur. He also wrote to the Commissioner to review the salt trade to save the people from starvation.[20] In the famine, the salt manufacturers were the worst sufferers, especially in the lake 'Aurangs' of Puri agency where they had no other means of livelihood except the manufacture of salt. Between February and June 1863 the Government had closed all salt agencies in Balasore, Cuttack and Puri.[21]

During his tour of the district in December, 1865 Barlow found people eating weeds in Satphur and surrounding villages. As for Barlow's suggestion for the importation of rice, the Board of Revenue at first was cold ; later only two hundred bags were allowed to be imported while the need was for five hundred tons. Again, Barlow consulted with the Secretary of works Department regarding payment to the labourers in kind, and for this he asked for advances to import rice. The Secretary refused and so did the Board of Revenue too. On 26 January, 1866 the Board instructed the Commissioner that the labourers be paid in cash and not in kind.[22]

Barlow's proposal to remit the revenue demand from the Zamindars of Puri was also rejected by the Commissioner and the Board. Thus, Barlow was sorely disappointed, all his

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suggestions had gone abegging.[23]

What made the matters worse was the large exportation of rice from Orissa. The crops of 1863 and 1864 had been abundant and the large exportation in 1864 and 1865 led to be shortage of stock in 1865-66. During the years 1864 and 1865, about nine lakh maunds of rice had been exported by the country carts to Calcutta and Ganjam. The quantity of rice exported from Orissa in that year was rather unusually heavy ; 33,000 tons as against an annual average of 17,400 tons over the five years, 1859-64. Balasore district alone had exported 28,000[24] tons.

The Government policy of non-interference with the exportation was sought to be justified by Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal when he said : "take my word for it, these grain holders are just waiting till the price has reached the figure they expect ; then they will open their stores and you will hear no more want of rice."[25] When the people demanded to cut down the prices he said ; "If I were to attempt this, I should consider myself no better than a dacoit or thief, who plunders his neighbour's property for his own use."

The policy had disastrous consequences. At a time when food needed to be conserved for the ensuing calamity, it was being sent away, leaving the people with no means whatever to support themselves in the difficult times ahead.

Role of Missionaries :

Christian missionaries of various denominations played a great role in the Orissa Famine. They were the first men to sound a note of warning with a view to drawing the Government's attention to the impending problem and rousing public-conscience to the need for alleviating the distress of people.[26] They raised funds, efficiently organised relief operations, strongly criticised Government's in-action and then heartily co-operated with it when it woke up to its responsibility. They trekked to all the afflicted areas to get first hand information about the extent of the distress ; they provided succour to the

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stricken people. A large number of destitute children were taken care of by the missionaries as orphans, and all these with no declared motive of exploiting the distressed situation of the people to convert them to Christianity. Ideals of philanthrophy, benevolence and public service alone seemed to have been the impulse of their activity.[27]

Not the Government officers but the missionaries were the people who first sounded a note of warning, thereby clearly showing their sense of anticipation.[28] The missionaries in their letters of 26-10-1865, 31-3-1866 and 16-4-1866 to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, London, narrated the condition of Orissa. However, nothing came of this communication.[29]

Between October, 1865 and 7 April, 1866, the situation worsened and that in spite of several communications of the Collector of Puri, warning the highest authorities that starvation had caused several deaths within a few yards of a salt office on the Chilka lake.[30]

Now it was for the *Friend of India*, a missionary newspaper published from Serampore, to widely publicize the situation in Orissa. On 12 April, 1866 the paper made a general appeal for public contribution to a relief fund. In it appeared a first hand narrative of the situation by J. Buckley and J. Phillips, missionaries of Cuttack and Jellasore, respectively. A similar narrative of the Collector of Ganjam, J. Forbes also appeared in the paper of the same date. Buckley described that,

> "The meagre forms of starving men and women and the plaintive cries of helpless children that come around to beg for food I have no words to describe."

Interestingly enough, the two missionaries wanted the donation for meeting the needs of the destitute Christians only, for they pointed out, the Oriya Christians plight was worse than the local Hindus ; the former had not many opportunities for employment, they being social outcastes.[31] Significantly enough neither the missionaries nor Collector of Ganjam made such an appeal to the Government.[32]

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The appeal of the missionaries to the public did not go in vain. J.S. Sykes, a young English merchant of Calcutta, who had close links with the missionaries in Orissa responded to the appeal.[33] He conceived the idea of establishing a general fund for the relief of the famished people. Accordingly, on 14 April 1866, he advertised in the *Friend of India* for an Orissa Famine Fund.[34] This was followed by the publication in the same paper of extracts from missionary correspondents who had first hand knowledge of the distressed areas.[35] Interestingly enough, Sykes and Co. informed the missionaries that the aid solicited was not intended exclusively for the native Christians, but for the starving population of Orissa in general.[36] Though Sykes and Co. was a small company and little known, they collected Rs. 18,000/- which was distributed impartially through the missionaries; the relief was mostly in the form of cash grants.[37]

The missionaries of Calcutta held public meetings in the city to raise funds and succeeded in involving several enlightened local men in the relief organisations they soon organised.[38] The missionaries were able to rouse the sense of social awareness and commitment in the elite section of the Bengali population of Calcutta. Raja Digamber Mitra, a great philanthrophist, for example, was actively associated with the relief operations from the very beginning. Some of the prominent men of Calcutta also served in the relief committee as members, working hand in hand with the missionaries.[39] Relief operations were soundly organised by the missionaries who could enlist public sympathy and support. Some missionaries like Buckley of Cuttack generously contributed to the relief funds set up in all the districts.[40]

The missionaries showed perfect coordination in their activities and understanding at all levels. Boiled rice was distributed, sometimes paddy and sometimes money, the kind of relief depending on the degree of destitution. Physically emaciated people were given priority and able bodied ones were provided with work and paid wages. Tickets were issued to facilitate the

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distribution of rice and to check fraud. Separate arrangements were made for the blind and lepers to prevent stampede.[41]

The missionaries had to contend with social impediments while providing relief to the people. It caused them concern that high caste men preferred death to subsisting on food in the relief camps. Even the food cooked by Brahmins was rejected by those men until their emaciated condition forced them to get over the hesitation. Curiously enough, these high caste men gave their children to the missionaries with full knowledge that they would be converted to Christianity.[42]

Not until 21 May 1866, did the Government take any step to provide relief to the people in distress although a few Government officials in their private capacity acted in close concert with the missionaries.[43] In May 1866 the Government granted Rs.10,000/- to each of the three districts, where famine conditions prevailed.[44] The Government enlisted the co-operation of the missionaries and the members of the public in the organisation of the relief centres ; in the many Relief Committees that were formed, missionaries, enlightened public men and Government officers worked in perfect co-operation.

In all the three districts, food was distributed free from *unnochutters*. W. Miller, a missionary of Puri, visited several places in the district to provide the Collector and the relief committee with first hand information on the condition of the people.[45] The missionary reports had it that the Baorees, Tantees and other low class men were the worst sufferers.[46]

From the Puri Famine Fund relief was provided to some five hundred families in Gope, Parikud, Malud, Banpur and other places. In spite of Government grant Miller kept appealing for public donations for relief work. However, the distress showed hardly any sign of abatement. At Piplee, for example, rice sold at 4½ seers a rupee.[47]

Rev. J. Phillips, a missionary at Jellasore, in the district of Balasore, made extensive tours. His reports brought to light the famine conditions in the tract inhabited by the Santhals.[48]

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Rev. A. Miller of Balasore had already reported on the migration of the people from the rural areas to the town of Balasore.[49] As elsewhere, in Balasore too the missionaries constituted the most important element in the relief committee which the Government set up. The members of the public paid donations to the funds raised by the missionaries, who kept close contact with Sykes and Co. for regular contributions. At Balasore in May 1866, rice was distributed to as many as 300 persons per day. At Jellasore Rev. J. Phillips provided food th 1500 persons a day when rice was sold at six seers a rupee.[50] The missionaries could enlist several European gentlemen, both official and non-official, in the Relief Committee which had many centres for distribution of relief at different places of the Balasore district.[51]

Able bodied men were engaged in the construction of roads, the labourers being paid at the rate of one seer of rice a day. Rev. J. Phillips volunteered supervision of the irrigation channels and other earth works undertaken by the Government as a measure of relief. The Santhals, among whom there were Christian converts, received particular care by the missionaries who erected temporary sheds for the famished tribal people who had migrated to Jellasore and Santipore. But, instead of rice, money was distributed to them.[52]

Although the missionaries fully cooperated with the Government in its relief measures, the missionaries from time to time, strongly criticised the inadequacy of the measures and the wrong policy on which they were based. Thus, while Gevernment would provide relief to the entirely destitute people,[53] there were many others, both willing and able, who were not attracted to the relief works organised by the Government. At a time when "rice was so frightfully dear the wages given to the labourer were pitifully low." Besides, the Government did not take into consideration the number of dependents which each labourer had to support. The labourers were paid in weekly rates without regard to the fact that the men had no mean

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whatever of keeping their body and soul together for a day even. Buckley reported that the private irrigation company paid wages in rice which enabled it to employ 9000 labourers per day on an average from January to June 1866.[54] The Government which paid in cash could at this time engage only 1182 labourers in the Puri district while from June to November 1866 when the distress was in its most intense form in Cuttack it could engage 650 persons on an average per day ; the figures for Balasore at this time was 350 only.[55] In January 1866 the Irrigation Company could engage 14,666 labourers.[56]

In June all Orissa was plunged into one universal distress of extreme severity.[57] The rate of mortality was the highest in the month of August,[58] when "heavy flood increased the death roll among a people of enfeebled privation." In Puri by June rice was hardly procurable at 6¼ seers a rupee, 5½ seers in August and 15 5/8 by December 1866.[59] At Cuttack, a rupee fetched 4 seers in June and July, 5 seers in August and 15 seers in December. At Balasore in June it varied from 5 to 7 seers and in December from 22 to 32 seers. In June, at Bhudruck, a rupee fetched 3½ seers.

At Cuttack, in July, some centres for the distribution of cooked food were set up in the interior areas ; more were established in August and in September as many 43 of feeding centres were in operation.[60]

In Puri the condition was the worst in the beginning of the second week of August when heavy rains and storms caused floods. The people were then in the lowest stage of exhaustion : the emaciated crowds collected at the feeding centres with no adequate provisions for shelter ; the cold and rain killed many. A large number of deaths were also due to the fact that at the centres in the interior areas, relief was given in the shape of uncooked rice and in extreme hunger, people devoured the rice raw, which caused them fatal bowel complaints. The raw rice was also forcibly taken away from the weak by the strong, which led the authority to distribute cooked

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rice. By October 1866, 2,10,866 deaths had occurred in Puri.[61]

At Jellasore and Santipore though the regular relief centres were opened in June no grain was supplied to Rev. Phillips till the middle of July. Phillips distributed whatever money he had. Grain was cheaper here than at Balasore. In July Miss Crawford, a missionary, took charge of the road works directed by the relief committee and Rev. Brooks, another missionary, supervised the relief work at Jellasore. The Santhals migrated from the interior areas and were supported by the missionaries at Jellasore and Santipore. By September and October each Santal was given 4 pice from Relief Fund.[62] A. Miller, the missionary at Balasore, also complained the Government did not supply rice or money to the relief centres, managed by the missionary and non-missionary bodies in July and August, 1866. During these months the Government refused food to the labourers and others who "had a little muscle."[63]

In February 1867, the Viceroy took personal interest in the relief operations. A meeting attended by many officials including the clergies of all denominations in Calcutta was held where the Viceroy appealed for the relief of the destitute persons and for funds to support the orphans caused by the famine.[64]

Rev. Buckley too made similar appeals to the people of upland and India.

A special commissioner, named E. W. Molony, was appointed to supervise the relief operations in Orissa.[65] Throughout 1867 relief measures continued. In December, the situation having improved greatly, gratuitous relief came to an end and all the relief centres were closed.[66]

The improvement of the situation and the end of the famine conditions did not bring the activities of the missionaries to an end. In fact, they assumed a new responsibility after the famine. They took charge of a large number of children whose parents had perished in the famine.[79] The Government

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put these orphans in the care of the missionaries who brought them up with the money provided by the Government. The orphans were supported by a monthly government grant of Rs. 2/-each and was given to the missionaries themselves and by some public men.[68] The orphan boys were looked after by the money with them until seventeen years of age and for girls the age limit was sixteen. In the orphanages boys were trained in various crafts such as weaving, carpentry and black-smith work. Some were trained as tailors, cooks, servants, bearers, gardeners, etc.; in the mission schools several were engaged as monitors; girls were trained in house-wifery, knitting and needle work.[69] Thus, the missionaries not only gave the orphans a new lease of life but by providing them with new education and training in various crafts made their life economically purposeful. This proved socially beneficial too.[70] But for missionary support, those children, belonging mostly to rural areas, would have relapsed to their accustomed social and economic set up. By rearing them up the missionaries ensured these orphans not only material security but moral enlightenment too. The mental horizon of the orphans was definitely broadened. Several years' association with the missionaries transformed these boys and girls into new men and women divested of their traditional social millieu and free from traditional inhibitions. All these orphans became Christians, some of whom took up evangelical work with great earnestness. Some took the pastoral work, some others became teachers in missionary schools; some were engaged in press work and all were imbubed with a new outlook and sense of purpose.[71]

The arrangement of marriage of these orphan girls when they came of age was a responsibility which the missionaries cheerfully undertook, the girls being given rupees twenty as bride money.[72] The missionaries also received some donation for this purpose from several persons in England.

Many orphans were settled in villages to grow up into a distinct community which looked back to the life before the

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famine with no regret. In fact, very few of these men returned to the villages they hailed from.[73]

That the role of the missionaries in the famine of 1866 was great and that their services were invaluable was acknowledged by the Government in no uncertain terms.[74]

"With reference to the wish, expressed by the Secretary of State, and communicated to us by the letter of the Government of India, No. 1893 of 11th February, that all those individuals who distinguish themselves by their liberality and activity in the relief of the suffering people should be mentioned, when our report is forwarded to the Government. In England, we have already stated that our investigation was more directed to the conduct of the class than of individuals. Under all the circumstances we think that without special enquiry directed to the point, it would be invidious for us to particularise the individual among the community who have more distinguished themselves by their exertions further than by referring to the mention and in the district Narratives of Mr. Sykes, Mr. Moncrief, the officers of the East India Irrigation Company, and other European gentleman and other liberal and benevolent natives among whom, on receiving our report, we think that the Raja of Parikood in Pooree should have been more prominently noticed."

The Committee that was set up by the Government to enquire into the causes of the Orissa Famine invited the missionaries to depose before it. The missionary depositions constitute an invaluable source of information on the factors that caused the famine and aggravated it.[75]

The Orissa Famine thus brought out another dimension in the missionary activities ; they were not only the evangelists they stood by the people at their worst time as their friends and benefactors.

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The Friend of India, Vol. XXXIII,
No. 1674, January 31, 1867,
(Serampore, 1867), p. 122.

12. R. C. F., Vol. II, op. cit., p. 631 ;

A statement showing the quantity of coarse rice procurable for one rupee in certain districts for 1865-66 and some preceding years.

In the town of Puri in Sept., 1864, one rupee fetched thirty seers, in Sept. 1865, 13.3/4 seers and in September 1866 hardly $7\frac{1}{4}$ seers.

In Balasore, one rupee fetched in Sept., 1864, 37 seers, in Sept., 1865, 22 seers and in 1866, $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 seers.

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The exportation of rice for 1864-65 were valued at Balasore Rs. 9,08,723 ; whereas from 1861-64 at Rs. 6,13,053. The price per maund was lower in 1861-65 in either of the three previous years. The total exportation of 33,000 tons out of which 28,000 tons exportations from Balasore made people's hands empty.

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"In Orissa, the orphans chiefly under the Baptist and American Missionaries who have acted so nobly throughout, and a large

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number of girls under the Catholics "

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41. Ibid, p. 617.

R. C. F., Vol. I, op. cit., Statement No. 89 of J. Phillips recorded at Jellasore on 24-1-1867 ;

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Hunter, Statistical Account...Vol. XVIII, op. cit., p. 171.
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Though towards the end of May Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned to each of the three districts on 1st June only the Balasore Committee got Rs. 10,000 for relief.
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R. C. F. Vol. I, op. cit. p. 205 ;

From January to June, 1866, 55, 741 persons were employed by the Irrigation Company at Cuttack. Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880, Part I, pp. 45-46 ;

The Irrigation Company was paying its own labourers part of their wages in rice and employed on an average nine thousand people daily.

57. R. C. F., Vol. I., op. cit., Statement of J. Phillips No. 89.
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At Balasore out of nine thousand persons there is a daily average of one hundred and forty death in the month of September.
"A Million Deaths From Famine in Eastern India", F. of I., Vol. XXXII, No. 1665, November 29, 1866, pp. 1385-86 ;

T. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner reported that still in

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November, 1866, 150 persons died per day ;

O' Malley, B. D. G.; Puri op. cit., pp. 163-64 ;

The mortality reached its culminating point at the beginning of the second week of August.

59. R. C. F., Vol. II., op. cit., pp. 631-32.

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At Balasore twenty-two and at Puri twenty-three feeding centres were in operation by September, 1866.

61. O' Malley B. D. G., Puri, op. cit., pp. 163-64.

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65. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 394.

66. Report of the operations of the Central Executive Committee of the Orissa Famine and Orphan Relief Fund during 1867-68, Part II (Calcutta, 1869), Para 37, p. 41.

67. 'The Famine Orphans of Ganjam and Orissa', The Indo-European Correspondence, Vol. II, No. 13, March 30, 1867 (Calcutta), p. 171 ;

Father Sapart, the Roman Catholic priest Claimed that the Government was unjust to the Catholic missionaries. During the Famine he was requested by the Collector to take some orphans who were seemed unfit (or not promising ones') by the Protestant Missionary, Rev. A. Miller of Balasore. In the words of the priest they were a set of idiots and good-for-nothing wretched fellows ;

C. J. O' Donnell,

Census of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1891 (Calcutta, 1893), p. 4., Orissa Division.;

Christians ; 1872-2324, Christians show an increase of only 17.16 percent among those who at the great Famine of 1866 lost caste from eating in the Christian Mission Kitchens ;

"The Archdeacon's Visitation", The Indian Church Gazette, Vol. V., No. 146 (Calcutta, 1860) ;

He was very much gratified by a visit to the Boys' and Girls' orphanages under the missionaries of the O. B. Mission. He saw 500 orphans girls and 300 orphans boys who had been rescued from the recent famine, now under Christian instruction and well cared for.......

C. S., Vol. I., No. 7, January, 1872 (Calcutta, 1872), p. 278 ; John Brown (ed.), The Cantenery Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society......, op. cit., p, 260 ;

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John Clifford in his article "The Orissa Mission" described the famine of 1866 added 1500 orphans to the care of the Missionaries ;

"The orphans and the great Famine", F. of I., Vol. XXXIII, No, 1705, September, 1867, p. 1061., Maddox, op. cit., p. 155.

68. "The Famine and its Orphans", F. of I., Vol. XXXIII, No. 1693, June 13, 1867, op. cit., p. 693 ;

Report of the operations of the Central Executive Committee, op. cit., Para 24, p. 5 ;

F. of I., Vol. XXXIII, No. 1693, June 13, 1867, p. 693 ;

By June 1867, there were eight hundred and ninety orphans.

F. of I., Vol. XXXIII, No, 1705, op. cit., p. 1061.,

By July 1867, there were 1450 orphans under missionaries' care

"The Famine Meeting", F. of I., Vol. XXXIII, No. 1676, op. cit., p. 190 ;

By February 1867, there were 15000 orphans under missionaries' care.

69. "Father C. J. C. Saparts reports about Balasore", The Indo-European Correspondence, Vol. V, No. II, op. cit., p. 21 ;

W. W. Hunter, Orissa..., Vol. II (London, 1872), pp. 142-43.

70. F. M. Senapati, Autobiography Part I (Cuttack, 1957), p. 20.

71. George Hawker, open the window Eastward (London, 1917), p. 65 ;

Eyre Chatterston, Mission work in Chotanagpur (London, 1901), pp. 167-68.

72. R. C. F., Vol. II., op. cit., Appendix XXI, p. CXXXIII, Appendix XXII, pp. CXXXVIII-CXLI.

73. Hunter, Statistical Account..........., Vol. XVIII, op, cit., pp. 80, 278-79 ;

Hunter, Statistical Account........., Vol. XIX, op. cit., pp. 40, 171.

74. R. C. F., Vol. I., op. cit., Para 423, p. 133.

75. R. C. F., Vol. I., op. cit., Para I.

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7

Growth of Missionary Education

During the first part of the nineteenth century, the Christian missionaries of various denominations spread their activities through one of the mediums, i. e. education and thus, opened the eyes of the Government which neglected the important department. The missionaries took up education to be one of the mightiest of all their methods for the gradual destruction of Hinduism and for implanting Christianity in its place. They believed that education would illuminate the individual mind and they gave much importance to the development of education in India. The missionaries experimented with elementary, secondary and girls' education including religious instructions in all their schools.

When missionaries were actually engaged in educational works, the Government was doing almost nothing in that direction. As a result of the pressure by the evangelicals and supporters of missions, the 1813 Charter Act contained a clause on education of Indians. The preamble of it declared, "It is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvements; and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient

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facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of accomplishing those benevolent designs."[1]

The same Act provided for the expenditure of a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees each year for the improvement of literature and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of India.

Nothing was done in the field of education till the arrival of Lord William Bentinck in India as the Governor-General. In 1835, after the 'Anglicist' and 'Orientalist' controversy, modern education in Orissa was started. In spite of that, there was no Government school in Orissa till 1838 when the Government opened one at Puri. The Government opened a Higher English School at Cuttack in 1841. In 1853, in Puri, English School was resuscitated and one at Balasore was opened.[2]

In the second part of the nineteenth century, some changes were brought in the system of education. With the introduction of Grants-in-aid system, as per the wood's Despatch of 1854, the private institutions were brought under the control of education department. As the Government took interest in the opening of schools, the missionaries withdrew from opening schools in the second part of the nineteenth century. Rather, they closed or handed over several schools to the Government. Thus, they had less number of schools in comparision with the Government and other private agencies in the second part of the nineteenth century.[3]

The missionaries were the pioneers of western education in Orissa and elesewhere. Until 1838, no schools worthy of name existed except in the two or three bright spots within the circle of missionary influence," marked Hunter. The establishment of schools was recognised by the B. M. S. as one of the means to be adopted for the introduction of Christianity in India. To the missionaries, education was the most important factor in the whole process of conversion.[4]

The General Baptist Missionary Society opened the schools with a view to introducing Scriptures. James Peggs, one of the

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missionaries, said, "I very well recollect, that at the establishment of our second school at Cuttack, in 1822, the condition upon which we gave the school to the master was that he should teach the children to read the 'Mangal Somachar', the good news or the Gospel."[5] Sutton, another missionary explained, teaching of astronomy and geography were important auxiliaries to the conversion of Hindus ; but much of the time of the missionaries ought not to be employed in that work.[6]

The American Freewill Baptist missionaries set up schools in order to infuse Christian ideas among the students and through them in others.[7] The same step was followed by the Roman Catholics too.[8] The missionaries ran four types of schools. The first was the Boys' School, which taught a basic curriculum of English, Oriya, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Bible and other Scripture lessons. Generally, in each mission station, there was a main school of this type. At some bazar and village schools the three R's and religious instructions were imparted in the vernacular language and from them the promising students used to go on to the mission school of the town.

The second type of schools were the Orphanages and boarding schools with an industrial branch attached to most of them.

The third type was the Girls' School. These began as orphanages or as schools for the daughters of the converts. Sometimes, they began with the daughters of low caste people. Most of their female education was restricted to primary level and the rudiments of domestic science.

The missionaries had mixed schools. In boys' schools of the missionaries, girls were imparted education too. But they were very few. In their institutions, both the Christians and non-Christians received instruction in the native languages.

In order to fulfill their main object, the missionaries concerntrated on establishing the fourth type of School, which was intended to convert local non-Christian boys and girls in rural areas.

Besides the four types of schools they had opened Medical

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Schools, Industrial Schools, Normal Schools and Zenana Associations.

In 1822, the G.B.M.S. had three Oriya Schools for boys and girls and one for the adult. From June, 1822 to December, 1823, fifteen native schools were established by the General Baptists, three of which were at a short distance from Cuttack.[9] They contained three hundred and five boys and sixty three girls. In 1824, Peggs and Lacey visited a radius of fifty miles around Cuttack, and established four village schools and entrusted them to the care of the *Rajah* of Buluntah and Gangaswar.[10] In 1825, at Puri, two schools were established. In 1827, there were six schools at Cuttack.[11] By 1832, the Baptist missionaries had twelve schools attended by four hundred students. In 1845, an Anglo-Vernacular School was opened at Cuttack.[12] In the same year at Piplee, a school was established for boys and girls.[13]

J. Phillips the missionary of the A.F.B.M. opened the first Santal Boys' School at Jellasore in 1845. By 1854, forty students were imparted education out of which eight were converted to Christianity. They had also opened three bazar schools where eightyeight pupils attended in 1855.[14]

The missionaries ran two types of Boarding Schools, one for the European boys and girls and the second was for the natives. However, sometimes, the children of the natives stayed in the orphanages of the Europeans. The Friend of India remarked, "In the asylum, the pupil comprised the offspring of native converts, and those who have no caste."[15] The statement is partially correct. In the asylums, orphans, destitutes and those who were entrusted by the Government to the missionaries stayed and were educated. Rather most of them, after the completion of their education, became Christians. The Government officials praised in high sounding words the merit and quality of the orphanages and the education which the pupils got there. But, the Friend of India observed regarding the asylum students: "The great danger which besets all such establish-

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ments in the hands of the missionaries is that of their being over done ; of their encouraging expensive habits, and extraovagant hopes, and making the lads Baboos to such an extent as to lay the foundation for much anxiety and disappointment and when the Baboos come to be employed as catechists."[16]

The Orissa missionaries commenced the First Boarding School at Cuttack in 1829 with twelve East Indian boys and girls. Most of them were orphans and poor. For the maintenance of those pupils, the judge of Cuttack H. M. Pigou and other European officers in their private capacity donated two hundred and fifty rupees per year and collected subscriptions for the missionaries.[17]

Schools For Anglo-Indians :

The first school for the Anglo-Indians was opened in 1823 and it was named as English Charity School. Native, Indo-British and English students read there. The school mainly survived on the donations given by the gentlemen of Cuttack and other Europeans. A boarding school was opened for them in 1829 with 10 East Indian students. H. Minchin Pigou and his wife donated Rs. 250/-per year and also collected subscriptions from other sources and financed the school.[18]

At Cuttack, an English School was opened by the Government and so the mission handed over the school to the Government. Due to the lack of provision for the Anglo-Indian students there A. Sutton and Mrs. Sutton opened a Girls' School for the European girls and they had borne all the expenses till 1855 after which the mission took-over the charge.[19]

The Anglican chaplain of Cuttack, Woodington, along with the natives of Cuttack, wanted to open a school mainly for the European and Eurasian boys and girls. For the Church School at Cuttack, Woodington had asked for a grants-in-aid of Rs. 150/-which was forwarded by the D. P. I. and sent to the Government in May, 1863. As there was no similar school at Cuttack and the Church School would provide education to

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141 boys and 27 girls in two departments, as proposed by woodington in his letter, D. P. I. directed the Inspector of Schools to visit Cuttack and report on the educational requirements of the town. Medlicott, the Inspector of Schools, gave a satisfactory report and the D. P. I. recommended the application to the Government for sanction of Rs. 150/-per month. Lieutenant Governor of Bengal sanctioned Rs. 150/- per month for the Church School. It was the largest amount in form of monthly grant in South-West Division. The Church School that was established in 1863-64 catered to the needs of the Anglo-Indian Children.[20]

Thus, in 19th Century, there were only four schools in the Orissa Division for the Europeans and Eurasians and all were in Cuttack district. They were, the Cuttack European school, the Roman Catholic Middle School, the Convent School and the Christian Girls' School.

A Boarding school was established at Cuttack with six boys and three girls on May 30, 1836 for the natives.[21] Due to the Famine in Orissa, (1836-38) many destitute children were handed over by the parents to the missionaries during those years. Missionaries also collected some children near the hospital. Orphanages were established at Berhampur (1840), Ganjam (1841), Piplee (1842) by the General Baptists. The Freewill Baptists established two orphanages, one at Balasore and the other at Jellasore.[22]

The Government rescued a large number of *Meriahs* by 1840 and some of the *meriahs* were entrusted to the care of the missionaries who put them in their orphanages and educated them in their schools at Berhampur, Cuttack and Balasore.[23] The Government gave every rescued boy and girl a monthly allowance of three rupees. Till 1843, in the Cuttack orphanage, ninety boys and upward hundred girls were admitted.

Most of them died as they were received by the missionaries in most wretched condition. Within ten years of the establishment of Boarding school at Cuttack, two hundred and thirty

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pupils had passed through the schools out of which fifty had been baptised.[24] Later on, in Orissa Famine of 1866, fifteen hundred persons were rescued and distributed among the missionaries of different denominations who brought them up in their orphanages. In 1866, an orphanage was established for the famine orphans at Piplee.[25]

The A. F. B. M. had established Boarding schools too for the orphans. In 1840, at Balasore, there were fourteen pupils in the Boarding school. In 1849, there were twentynine rescued *meriahs*, whose age varied from eight to fourteen years, in their Boarding school.[26] Fifty rescued *meriahs* were added in 1850, but due to cholera several pupils died. In 1851, there were only thirtyseven boys in the Boarding school. In the same year out of twenty five girls of Girls' Boarding schools only fifteen had been at school for a few months. All, except two, read, wrote and sewed.[27]

The Roman Catholics had a Boarding school at Balasore from 1869 to 1903.[27-A]

The initiative in the matter of female education in India was taken by missionary Societies of different denominations in Bengal, Bombay and Madras presidencies. The earliest efforts of the members of those Societies were directed towards the instruction of the children of the Christian converts only. Encouraged by success, they set up institutions for the non-Christian girls. The missionaries tried to promote female education by establishing day-schools for girls, boarding establishment for orphans and domestic instruction in the families of middle and higher classes.[28]

Although the Baptist Missionary Society, the Freewill Baptist Missionary Society, and the Roman Catholics had commenced several girls' schools in Orissa, the 'Society for Promoting Female Education in the East' sent ladies to run schools and thus assisted in spreading female education. The Society sent ladies like Packer, Guignard and others to superintend some girls' schools. The Society was formed in 1834.

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Its plan was to promote education based upon the Holy Scriptures, among Eastern Females of all ranks and classes, either in their own secluded homes, or in missionary schools. For that purpose the Committee sent qualified European teachers.[29]

In 1822, the G. B. M. S. collected several girls of Cuttack and commenced a girls' school. When they knew that the girls were adopted by the prostitutes, the missionaries discontinued several of such schools. Then till 1854, there was no specific Mission Girls' School in the real sense of the term which was run by missionaries of any denominations.[30]

Most of the missionary schools were for elementary teaching where the students were taught to read and write in their own language. In some cases the students were taught some accounts also.[31] The missionaries always wanted the students to sing Hymns or Scripture songs and to write out Scripture portions for their exercises. The missionaries encouraged them, by giving prizes and pices to those who performed well in singing hymns. From the Annual reports of the missionaries it is clear as to how they gave importance to Scripture readings and other hymns relating to Christ.[32]

The Pippli Girls' School was established in 1862. It had been conducted by a female member of the Church. The natives did not send their children and it was only confined to the Christian community. The elder girls taught to the younger ones. They were taught needle work and other crafts besides secular and religious instruction. The Government did not provide money in the form of aid to Pippli Girls' school. Thus by 1864, the Christianpur Girls' School, Choga Girls' School and Pippli Girls' School were not aided.[33]

In 1867-68, there were nine girls' institutions mentioned in the report of the Inspector of South-West Division, out of which there were three in Orissa. But one was confined to Europeans and the other races at Cuttack and the other two were orpha-

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nages, one at Balasore and another at Cuttack.[34] In 1869-70, in Orissa, there were five girls' schools with 859 pupils affiliated to grants-in-aid system. By 31st March, 1871, in Orissa there were five schools with 685 pupils, one Zenana with forty-five pupils under missionary management. One school for European boys and girls had 36 pupils at Cuttack ; whereas under native management there was only one with forty-five pupils.[35]

It was found from the report of Orissa Division for the year 1871-72 for the native girls, schools, for each girl Government spent four rupees and Mission four rupees; whereas for European schools, the Government spent rupees 24/- though the expense per girl was Rs. 50/-. When the Government provided grants to the institutions, levy of a fee was a necessary condition. However, Government did not insist to levy fee in the female schools.[36]

At Balasore Mission Girls' School, only Christian girls read because the native Hindus did not send their girls for fear of losing caste. It was run by the American Baptists where from 1864-71 Miller and Hallam were the Secretaries.[37]

The Roman Catholics had also a convent, namely St. Joseph school where both girls and boys read. In 1871, a school at Sunot was opened for both boys and girls because the natives objected to send their girls and little boys to the St. Joseph school on account of too great distance. It was done due to the request of some Baboos. Thus, it appears the Bengalis did not hesitate to send their boys and girls to Mission schools.[38]

Miss Crawford, an American Missionary Lady, started a Primary school for girls at Jaleswar. Girls from that school appeared in the Lower Primary Scholarship Examination in 1882.

In the year 1875, there were nine Girls' schools and one Zenana, two Primary Schools in Orissa Division for the instruction of Girls. Of these, five were in Cuttack, one in Puri and three in Balasore. One of the schools was un-aided and the rest were aided. The total number of girls under instruction on

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31st March, 1875 was 967, of whom one was in a Middle English School, one was in a circle school, 12 were in Middle Vernacular Schools, 834 were in Girls' schools. The rest frequented Pathasalas and the Mission Normal School at Santipur. Most of the girls in schools were Bengalees. The Oriyas were few.[39]

Most of the Hindu girls under instruction belonged to Balasore – 111 of them under Zenana Association, 28 belonged to Hindu Girls' School and the others belonged to the Balasore Mission School.

The total number of girls under instruction was 2416 in 1882. Of these, 823 attended special girls' schools and the rest boys' schools. The special girls' schools were 33 in number, namely, 25 in Balasore, 6 in Cuttack and 2 in Puri. Of these, 20 were under the missionary management and the rest were in Hindu Girls' schools. The best Hindu Girls Schools were those situated at Balasore, Cuttack and Bhadrak. The highest standard of girls' schools in Orissa was the lower vernacular scholarship standard.[40]

During 1883 to 92, there had been a very great advance in Orissa as regards education. There were several Government Schools for Girls in Cuttack and in those schools religious teachings were prohibited. The Christian teachers were not allowed to read the Bible to their Hindu pupils. This expansion was mainly due to the opening of Girls' classes established in primary schools for boys.[41]

Zenana Education :

The missionaries of India spread the female education through the Zenana agencies also. The lady missionaries and teachers formed the group and entered into the inner apartment of the ladies and taught them. The missionaries wanted that ladies should know about Christianity as by preaching they failed to make them know about Christianity. It had been computed that out of the one hundred and fifty million women and girls of India, forty million resided in the Zenanas—a population

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greater than that of Prussia, remarked by Julius Richter.[42] Zenanas were inaccessible to missionaries and native preachers all over India, and in the strong Muhammadan cities of the north, they were heremetically sealed against all Christian influences. It was wholly impossible to reach that great and influential section of the population by means of vernacular teaching.[43]

J. Mullens, an advocate of mission, pointed out that "Caution may well be used for Christian instruction........ As things advance it may be convenient to induce several families near together to join a school or a house." Mullens also stressed that payment should be required from the outset for wool and other materials also, if practicable for the teacher who did the mechanical part of the work. It was also important that the ladies who visited should speak the native language.[44]

The hints on Zenana missions as advocated by Mullens was practically practised in Orissa also.

The repeated attempts and approach of missionaries made them accessible to the Zenanas. Zenana work was first commenced in Balasore in April 1869.[45] One Zenana Association was started by Mrs. Smith in 1869 for educating the married girls of Balasore. 126 women were taught to a great extent in their Zenanas by Mrs. Smith of Balasore and their assistants.[46]

In Zenana schools, the teachers went to pupils' house. The lady teachers generally visited the houses of educated men to impart education to their ladies.[47]

At first there was a great deal of opposition and only six families allowed Smith during 1869-70 to teach their ladies. The opposition gradually passed away. By 1872, Smith and the Zenana teachers visited about fifty families in all. She had also sent a lady native Christian to Bhadrak to serve as a Zenana teacher and was paid by the Baboos whose houses she visited.[48]

By March 1874-75, out of the total number of 967 girls

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under instruction, 111 were under Zenana association. The Balasore Zenana Association was doing good and useful work for the promotion of female education.[49] In 1881, out of ten girls' schools of Balasore district, six teachers attached to the Balasore Zenana association were also attached to those schools. After Smith, Mrs. Phillips took interest for the development of Zenana agencies.[50]

The Balasore Zenana agency under Phillips received a Government grant of twenty five rupees and taught sixty seven pupils (female) on alternative days. It was doing good work and imparted education to the married girls at their own homes. For the education of the married girls, the Government also encouraged the missionaries to open more Zenana centres. After realizing the utility of Zenana Associations, the Zenana teachers were appointed afterwards at Government.[50-A]

Medical Schools :

The missionaries of Orissa took keen interest to open medical schools in Orissa. The American Baptists were the pioneers in this direction. Bachelor opened a medical school at Balasore and Phillips at Jellasore. The General Baptists opened a medical school at Piplee. The missionaries imparted teaching to their pupils in Oriya medium. They were trained in their hospitals of Balasore, Jellasore and Piplee. The missionaries for their medical schools wrote medical books in Oriya. At Balasore, the students were trained in surgical operations.[51]

The medical schools were entirely run with the subscriptions of the European gentlemen and the mission fund. The missionaries and the pupils through their medical schools and hospitals preached Christianity to their patients. The missionaries closed their medical school at Balasore when Government opened a hospital at Balasore. The first medical school at Cuttack was opened on 15th February, 1876.[52]

Industrial Schools :

The General Baptists and the American Freewill Baptists, for the benefit of the native Christian Community mainly,

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opened industrial schools at Balasore and Berhampur. The American Baptists at Balasore imparted training in industrial technology to their boarding pupils.[53] In 1890, ninety students were imparted training in carpentary and needle work. Out of ninety pupils who attended the institution in 1890, sixty five were Christians, eighteen Hindus and seven Muhammedans.[54]

Regarding the progress of school in the report of Public Instruction, the joint Inspector of Orissa remarked : "Apart from its industrial aspect, the work done in this institution has a distinct moral value, in that it is calculated to inspire boys of the neighbouring Middle School, who attend it in their leisure time, with a wholesale sense of the dignity of manual labour and this, in itself is no small gain to the thriving Christian community for whose benefit the school is mainly intended."[55]

In the district of Ganjam, at Berhampur an Industrial School was opened in the year 1904 in order to impart industrial training to the orphans.[56]

Besides missionaries' industrial school in 1889 at Alapur, a village in the district of Balasore, an industrial school was opened by the Government.[57]

Normal Schools :

The aim of Normal Schools was to provide trained teachers for village or Primary Schools. With that end in view in 1860s the Government opened normal schools and encouraged the private bodies to open the same. The American Baptists had taken keen interest in that direction and opened a normal school at Shantipur, six miles from Jellasore, and the Government granted grants-in-aid of that school. The normal school of Shantipur provided teachers to different Santal village schools of Orissa.[58]

Normal schools of the missionaries mainly provided teachers to the Santals of the Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj and to other Christian settlements where the mission had schools.[59]

The Baptists of Cuttack had opened a normal school in

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1893. In the year 1895, out of five pupils three discontinued and two passed and were sent to take charge of the village schools. It was exclusively confined to the Christian community.[60]

The type of education offered in missionary schools, like other schools under Christian sponsorship, was determined by their evangelistic aim. There were a number of ways in which the missionaries sought to realise this aim. So far as education was concerned, (i) a Bible or Scripture class was compulsory for all students ; (ii) There was the provision of teaching secular subjects from a Christian standpoint.

From the beginning, in the primary department, instructions in Scriptural subjects were imparted everyday. The Evidence of Christianity were taught. The Pilgrim's Progress, the Catechism and their religious books were in curriculam.

In the missionary institutions, the errors of Hinduism were exposed. The main aim of missionary institutions was to spread Christianity at any cost by destroying the old Hindu beliefs from the mind of Hindu or non-Christian students. Instances were available to support the above statement. At Piplee, students complained to their parents that they were taught not to worship the idols or any other goddess which led some parents not to send their sons to Mission schools.[61]

The purposes of the Government schools were quite different. They aimed at imparting certain basic skills such as, reading, writing and arithmetic.

The Government did not provide for religious instruction as the Government followed the principle of non-interference in the matters of religion and hence education imparted in the Government institutions was secular. Schools belonging to other private bodies which for the most part were sectarian in nature usually taught the theology or philosophy of their own sect.[62] The student body in the mission schools was in certain respects different from those of other educational bodies. Missionary schools had more Christians than non-Christians.

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as regards the Government schools where the strength of the Christians was less in comparison to the Hindus. That was due to the fact that all the students of the orphanages were brought up under Christian ideas and they constituted large in number and they were the students of the day schools.[62-A]

The courses of study in the school for the children of the converts generally consisted of Oriya, English, Principles of Christianity, Astronomy, Geography and History. In the Christian Boarding Schools, the missionaries imparted thorough religious teaching in addition to Oriya and English languages.

The Roman Catholics first paid attention to Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The American Baptists imparted instructions in Santali, Oriya, Kui and English. The girls were taught spinning, knitting etc. by missionaries of all the denominations.[63]

The missionaries of G.B.M.S., for their native schools, prescribed Easy Reading Lessons, the Scripture, Catechism, Elementary Treaties on Geography and Astronomy—all in Oriya medium.[64]

Peggs has pointed out : "In Bengal considerable aversion and occasionally, open hostility have been manifested to the introduction of the Scriptures into the schools ; but this prejudice against the least approximation to Christianity has greatly subsided, and Catechims, Gospels, poems etc., are generally used in the schools established by missionaries·····. In Orissa we have no difficulty introducing into the schools any book connected with Christianity."[65]

So far as the Boarding Departments were concerned, in the Primary classes, the boys were taught—Principles of Sound Morality, Geography, History, Astronomy and above all the Scriptures. In Boys' Boarding Department, manual labour either in cultivation of soil or some kind of handicraft was compulsory. Instruction was imparted in Oriya medium.[66]

The American Baptists too prescribed books for their schools. They taught Geography, History, Arithmetic and the

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Evidences of Christianity through the medium of Oriya. Heathen (Non-Christian) books were not allowed to be taught in their schools. In the Boarding Department besides above mentioned course, they were taught Land Measuring etc. They attended the school six hours daily after which they were engaged in manual work for three hours.[67] Some worked as masons, some as carpenters and blacksmiths and all others were engaged in farming. From their report for the year 1851, it is known, "The large boys spent the forenoon in school and the afternoon in labour besides religious instruction."[68]

The object of Missionary Girls' Boarding School was to make them sensible, moral, industrious and pious young women. Thus, from 1836—40, it was seen that in the Boarding Department of Girls they were imparted mainly in, Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Bunyan's Pilgrims Progress, Geography, the Element of History and above all the Scriptures. In place of physical labour, they were taught spinning and knitting etc.[69]

In the industrial school pupils were taught carpentry and needle work.[70]

In the Zenanas the pupils were given plain instructions in needle work and knitting in addition to reading and writing.[71] When the missionaries attempted to put their plans into practice, they faced one serious difficulty, in regard to the irregular attendance of the students. The poverty of the parents, natural calamities, religious and private festivals prevented students from attending schools.

Owing to the irregularity in attendance of the children, in Orissa, the missionaries appointed a Hurkaru (messenger) to collect them. Later on, teachers took interest for the attendance of the students as they were paid on the basis of the number of students in school. Peggs has written about the payment of teachers in Orissa that the masters got a certain amount for each class.[72]

The Bengalees of Orissa and the rich people feared that their children would become Christians. That was due to

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several factors. Conversions in connection with the schools at different parts of India, so alarmed the wealthy natives that they chose private teachers for the education of their children rather than sending them to the Mission schools.[73]

It was known that in the Mission schools pupils were instructed about Christianity. Sometimes, the parents complained that their children learnt Christianity and so they were dropped from the school.

The parents were again convinced and informed that those who learnt English, despised Hinduism. Pupils left schools sometimes on the ground that they were not allowed to make use of Hindu books. The use of the Scriptures, together with daily worship was another cause. So, Baptism of a pupil certainly resulted in the general decline in attendance.[74]

Superstitions played an important role in the decrease of attendance of the girls in particular. The missionaries in 1836 were unable to persuade the native girls to come to the Mission schools because women had been told that, "If they learned to read words from the printed pages their tangue would fall out."[75]

When in 1845, J. Phillips opened the first Santal school, he had to persuade several Santal lads and got some, to whom he had to pay a certain stipend.[76]

At Santal village schools the missionaries had faced the problem of attendance. One missionary has pointed out, "Fear of witches prevent children of different villages from attending the same schools."

Poverty also was one of the causes of the irregular attendance of the students. The missionaries found it difficult to have boys and girls in their schools after twelve or fourteen years of age.[77] In search of employment boys and girls were taken back by their parents. Rev.Smith a missionary has rightly pointed out, "In addition to the fact that we have to take the raw material from the jungles, there is this further and important point to be considered namely the un-settled and

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erratic character of these children of the forest. Their love and appreciation of knowledge has yet come to be so great as to carry them through great obstacles in order to secure it. Hence, youngmen after being in school for months and even for years, are not frequently induced to desert the school on very frivolous occasions, when their places have to be supplied by raw recruits."[78]

Caste prejudices of some high caste Hindus sometimes decreased the attendance of the pupils. Prior to 1859 at Puri, the missionaries had opened two schools, one meant for high caste people, and the other for Christian and Mahamedan boys. When the two schools were amalgamated, then many of the high caste Hindus left the school.[79]

Competition among the schools of the missionaries of different denominations as well as the Government institutions was also a factor that determined the increase and decrease of attendance. In the first part of the 19th century, the G. B. missionaries acknowledged that it was vain to compete with the Government institution and thus in 1841, they closed the English school at Cuttack when the Government opened one the same year.[80]

Attendance also depended on the tuition fees of the pupils. During the second phase of the 19th century (1872-77) due to the cheap tuition fees of the Catholic Missionary Institutions, there was great decrease in the attendance of the Government High School, Balasore.[81]

To inspect the schools, the missionaries had adopted some methods. From 1821 to 1826, on the first day of every month, the missionaries examined the schools at Mission bungalow, where the pupils gathered. Masters were paid there and the students were rewarded. From November 1826, the missionaries went to the schools and examined the students and teachers according to their convenience.[82]

It was planned by the missionaries that the schools would be visited as often as possible by the missionaries and their

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wives, a few individuals in the English congregations, and the Native Assistant named Abraham. To superintend the village schools, a person was employed called Ameen who was engaged in visiting them to ascertain the numbers, lessons and engagements of the children etc. But, as the teachers of the village schools were Hindus, the missionaries hardly believed in them and so broke up some of the distant village schools.[83]

During the preaching tours, the missionaries inspected the schools. The early missionaries with the sole intention of preaching used the schools as their rest houses and during their stay, inspected the schools. Thus, schools of the missionaries served both the purposes.[84]

The missionaries mainly examined the scholars in Gospel or Scriptures. They studied how far the pupils understood Christ. The missionaries rewarded students by giving a pice to each on seeing their proficiency. They also examined the students' proficiency in Geography, Oriya, Arithmetic etc.[85]

Missionaries also invited respectable persons, mainly Europeans of the town to inspect their schools. Thus, the Government officials in their private capacity visited the mission schools and gave rewards to students, who performed in Gospel class.[86]

The missionaries often visited the schools that were situated in town or nearby areas. Their wives also often did the same work.

The American Baptists, like the General Baptists, inspected their schools during the preaching tours.

The schools of the missionaries, till 1854, were not subject to the Government's interference as they got hardly any help. It was only for the maintenance of the Boarding Schools, so to say to the Orphanages, Government paid some money.

From 1854 till 1865 the mission schools enjoyed various exceptional privileges. Their schools were not liable to be visited by the Deputy Inspectors. After that, the schools which received financial aid from the Government, were visited by the

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officers of the Education Department.[87]

In Orissa, at the beginning of the period under study, there was very little competition for students between the missionary schools and other schools. While western education was still in its initial stage, the Government sought to avoid competition with mission school. So far as Orissa was concerned, the missionaries were the pioneers of western education. But missionaries in Orissa thought it vain to compete with the Government schools. Though the first English School known as "English Charity School" was opened by the missionaries in 1823, it was closed in the year 1841, when the Government opened an English school at Cuttack in the same year.[88]

However, there was competition among the missionaries of different denominations to establish schools. When in 1881, the Roman Catholics opened a Convent, the General Baptists opened a 'Protestant European School' in the same year.[89] To run their educational institutions the missionaries of various denominations got funds from various sources. First, the Home Society advanced money to its missionaries to run the institutions. To the General Baptists, the Foreign Mission of General Baptist Missionary Society, and to the American Baptists, the Foreign Board of the American Freewill Baptist Missionary Society advanced money to their stations at Orissa. The missionaries of the different denominations utilised some amount for the purpose of education of the natives as well as Europeans.[90]

Secondly, voluntary contributions of Indians and foreigners to the mission fund constituted another source of income to the mission. When the missionaries opened schools, generally they appealed to the public for help. In some cases, they used to get help in terms of 'donation' or 'contribution' from natives and Europeans inside India.[91]

Thirdly, a few regular contributions to the funds in India and some local aids to that fund also was a source of income for the mission. The European officials in India, in their private capacity, contributed some amount annually. Besides,

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annual contributions, they collected subscriptions for the missionaries from the Europeans. When the first English School at Cuttack was commenced in 1823, a judge of Cuttack voluntarily contributed a heavy amount to the institution and collected subscriptions from others.[92]

Local people also sometimes helped the missionaries to run their institutions. The natives also at times provided site for the mission schools. Native Christians too contributed a small amount to the church fund or to the missionaries.[93]

Respectable persons or local Rajas sometimes gave aids to the missionaries to run their schools. Besides that, the missionaries obtained funds from the Government some assistance for the support of a few students in their institutions.

As the Government entrusted to the missionaries, some 'Khond meriahs' to be brought up and educated ; Government paid a fixed amount for some years to the Orissa missionaries.[94]

Benevolent persons of Britain supported some pupils in Orissa. So some children were cared for by the missionaries with the money provided to them by the persons of Britain annually.[95]

Thus, till 1854, the mission educational institutions got practically nothing as aid. However, after 1854, the Government provided financial aid to those educational institutions which followed secular education and adopted the rules and regulations of the 'Government system'.[96]

Literary Activities of the missionaries :

The missionaries in Orissa were the pioneers in bringing out school books and dictionaries etc. as they were doing in other regions of the country. The Christian missionaries began to play a vital role in the field of new literary movement. Carey, Marshman and Ward of Serampore first of all thought of translating the religious Scriptures and the Bible into Oriya. They translated the Bible and Hebrew poems into Oriya language in Serampore Mission Press. The first volume of the

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Bible was translated in 1814. In 1811, August 20, the Old Testament was printed in two parts. In 1812, some historical books were printed. From 1801 to 1832, the Serampore missionaries published 2,12,000 books in forty languages.[97]

Before 1822, the Serampore misssonaries published an Oriya-English Dictionary with the help of Mohan Thakur (1811), the Oriya Bible, and a Tract on the Futility of Worship of Jagannath. After that, they had also published a number of tracts in Oriya.[98]

The General Baptist Missionaries in Orissa wrote volumes of books for the use of schools and offices. Sutton wrote an Oriya-English Grammar (1831), History of Orissa (1839), Oriya Dictionary (1841), Oriya Grammar and Oriya Geography or Bhugolo Bibarana (1839). He also edited Nitikatha (1840). The Calcutta School Book Society published Sutton's Oriya Primer and Padartha Vidyasara in 1845.[99]

In 1845, he translated the Old Testament in three volumes. Besides these, Sutton compiled Geeta Govinda (1840), Amarkosha (1845) and Batrish Singhasan (1850). W. C. Lacey wrote Oriya Grammar (1855) and edited Niti Katha (1855) and Hitopodesh (1855). J. Phillips wrote Geography of Orissa in 1845.[100]

Journalism :

It is the missionaries who pioneered the movement in this direction. The development of the newspapers and periodicals in Orissa during 19th century, can be divided into three stages :

1. Handwritten manuscripts before the establishment of Printing Press in Orissa in 1837 ;
2. Missionaries effort for the propagation of Christian religion ; and
3. Emphasis on Oriya language and literature.

Sadhu Sundar Das's 'Kujibar Patra' claims to be the first weekly in Orissa. He circulated a manuscript weekly in palmleaf named 'Kujibar Patra' in which he discussed religious, social and even matters relating to administration. He used

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'haritali' paper for his weekly, which was manufactured at Padampur village near Cuttack. This weekly was circulated to the people in fairs by him and his disciples. The circulation of 'Kujibar Patra' came to an end with the death of Sadhu in 1838. His writings often found place in Britain's Baptist journals. Missionaries of Orissa sent important portions of 'Kujibar Patra' to London for publication.[101]

The Orissa missionaries edited and published several newspapers and periodicals in Orissa during nineteenth century. These were Gyanaruna, Arunodaya, Prabodhachandrika, Aguyani, Dharmabodhini, Taraka and Christian mitra.[102] The Roman Catholics edited and published two periodicals known as Christaraja and Probha in present century.[103]

However, all these missionary papers mostly monthly, dealt generally with Christian religion and practically with little news or views of provincial interest.

Missionaries of Orissa rendered valuable service not only to the people of Orissa but to the Orissa Government also. In 1838, when the Persian language was replaced by Oriya as court language, the Bengal Government wanted to translate the Laws and Regulations from English and Bengali into Oriya. In 1840, the translation committee decided to appoint Sutton as the Government translator on a scale of three hundred rupees per month. Government decided to publish in the Oriya Gazettee the Rules and Regulations. Sutton was the first editor of the Oriya Gazettee. After Sutton, Government appointed Lacey as the editor of the Government Gazettee. After his departure, his son William Carey Lacey remained in charge of the editorship of the Gazettee towards the last part of 1855. Throughout the nineteenth century with the cooperation of the missionaries, the Government edited the Oriya Gazetee.[104]

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3. History of Joseph,
4. Volume of Poetry,
5. Little Henry—Boy and His Conscience,
6. A Volume of Anecdotes,
7. Pilgrim's Progress,
8. Doddridge's Rise and Progress,
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The mission schools were highly praised by the Government officers. The Inspector of Schools remarked on Cuttack High School which runs thus ; "I am glad to be able to state that no school in Orissa is better officered and more efficiently managed in every detail than this institution......."

The D. P. I. of Bengal visited the school on December 9, 1899 and remarked about the school which runs thus ; "I was much pleased with all the arrangements for its working which I saw."

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8
Conclusion

The first missionaries to arrive in Orissa were from the G. B. M. S. during the first part of the nineteenth century. However, during the last decade of the eighteenth century the missionaries of the B. M. S. had arrived in Bengal to spread Christianity. Later on, the missionaries of A. F. B. M., E. M. S. and Roman Catholics started coming to Orissa. The S. H. E. L. M. and L. M. S. also worked among the Oriyas who did not belong to the Orissa Division.

During the period under review the General Baptists and the American Freewill Baptists carried their work with zeal and energy. In comparison to other Missionary Societies, the G. B. M. S. had more missionaries with many mission stations and sub-stations.

The Missionary Societies in Orissa, so far as the Baptist denomination was concerned, worked in harmony with each other. They were never hostile to each other as it was in Bengal.[1] The missionaries of the General Baptists and the Freewill Baptists had no cordial relations with the Roman Catholics. The General Baptists and the Freewill Baptists cooperated heartily with each other. Localities were divided among them by friendly arrangements. It was a rule among the Baptist denominations not to interfere in each others converts and each others spheres of duty. School Books, trans-

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lation of the Scriptures and religious works prepared by various missions, were used in common. The missionaries held periodical conferences and acted together on public matters. The Baptist denominations had cordial relations with each other which can be proved from the letter of Noyes to Peggs, which runs thus : "Our interest is the same with your missionaries, our sentiment are one, our cause is one and we are one."[2]

The missionaries of all denominations had one main object —the conversion of the natives to Christianity. In order to fulfil their object they adopted the method of preaching, teaching, distributing Sacred literature and doing medical services.

The missionaries preaching of the high mysteries of Christianity could hardly make any impression in the minds of the local people. But the missionaries' continuous attack on Hinduism and Islam had a great impact. They, in public preachings not only condemned the Hindu Gods and Goddesses but they condemned the superstitious beliefs and customs that prevailed in the Hindu Society.

The missionaries criticised the social policy of the Government. They, in cooperation with the missionaries of India, struggled to do away with certain superstitious practices and customs that prevailed in Orissa. They condemned idolatry, pilgrimages and the Caste system. They also urged the Government to remove the social evils such as ; Sati (immolation of Widows on funeral pyres of their husbands), female infanticide, human sacrifice and self-immolation under the car of Jagannath. The missionaries of Orissa as in the other parts of India and also of England attacked the Government to take immediate steps on those evil practices, through press, petitions and pamphlets.

In attacking Sati the missionaries were the first to prove that the rite was not even sanctioned by the Hindu Sashtras. Peggs drew the attention of the public and the Government by writing books and pamphlets in this connection. He described

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the social abuses that existed in Orissa as well as in some parts of India in his books,[3] and pamphlets.

The missionaries were the pioneers in providing education both for boys and girls. Till 1838, there was not a single Government school whereas missionaries had run several schools in Orissa and its Tributary Mahals. However, to them, education meant Christian education and it was one of the means by which the religions of the natives would be destroyed. When schools were opened Peggs rightly remarked, "I very well re-collect, that at the establishment of our second school at Cuttack in 1822 the condition upon which we gave the school to the master was that he should teach the children to read the "Mungul Somachar", the good news or the Gospel."

The most striking feature of the mission schools was the width of their curriculum. The missionaries made a systematic attempt to introduce history, geography, arithmetic and science which contrasted with the indigenous schools. The mission schools were more efficiently conducted than the *pathasals*. The missionary's Zenana system of education was a new innovation for the development of female education in Orissa. They started it in 1860s. The A.F.B. missionaries also opened a normal school to train teachers for their village schools. Mission schools charged lower fees and often had more European instructors on the staff mainly in the Headquarters schools.

The missionaries were not only the preachers and educators, but also publishers and translators. Besides the spread of education, the missionaries did much valuable work in Indian languages. Some of the earliest dictionaries and grammars in Oriya were complied and published by the missionaries. The Government also sought the help of Mission services in Orissa. They translated the legal enactments into Oriya for the official use. Oriya Grammar and dictionaries were also prepared by them. Sutton was the pioneer in this field. Later on, Hallam compiled Oriya Grammar and a Dictionary in Oriya. Philips wrote a dictionary in Santali.

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The Orissa missionaries brought a Printing Press in 1837, which was the first press of the province and it published many books, both secular and religious, for the Oriyas. The press was established at Cuttack in 1838.

The missionaries were the pioneers in Oriya Journalism and contributed a lot to its development during the period under review. The General Baptists published Gnyanaruna, Arunodaya, Christian Mitra and Prabhati Tara. The American Freewill Baptists edited in 1872 a periodical known as Aguyani.

The translation of the Bible and Tracts was undertaken by the missionaries with the object of infusing the idea of Christianity in the minds of the natives. The Serampore missionaries translated into Oriya the Bible, the Scripture portions and the number of tracts in which they condemned idolatry. The C.B. missionaries translated into Oriya the Bible and a number of tracts during the period under review. For the tribal people too, the Scripture portions and tracts were translated and written by them in the tribal languages. Carey's translation of the Bible was the earliest attempt in Oriya prose literature, Later on Sutton, Lacey, Buckley and Pike, the General Baptist Missionaries of Orissa, enriched the Oriya literature by revising the Bible and writing various books in Oriya. Phillips of A.F.B.M. wrote a series of books and tracts in Oriya as well as in Santali.

The Orissa missionaries did much valuable work in the field of medical services. The American Freewill Baptists made notable efforts for the alleviation of physical sufferings of the Indian people. They opened hospitals at Balasore and Jalleswar where thousands of pilgrims were treated especially during their pilgrimage to Jagannath. Besides that they treated the natives of Orissa in time of their suffering. The medical knowledge of the missionaries drew many people and patients to them and they treated and preached Christianity there. While treating they tried to implant in the patient's mind faith on the Great Physician-meaning Jesus Christ.

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The East India Company had shown great reluctance to permit Christian missionaries to carry on their proselytizing activities in India. The Government followed strict neutrality in religious matters and protected the idolatrous institutions in India. Protection to idolatry was highly condemned by the missionaries and their supporters in India and England.

The British Government patronised the Temple of Jagannath. In order to attract more pilgrims the Jagannath Road was constructed. The Government wanted to make the collection of the pilgrim tax more systematic and provided more facilities to the pilgrims than the Marathas that hardly took any interest in the facilities of the pilgrims. Thus, the British Government, in order to attract more pilgrims and satisfy the natives, made rules and regulations for the Jagannath Temple and protected it. The protection and management of the Jagannath Temple was not liked by the Christian missionaries and their supporters. The missionaries wanted the Government to dissociate itself from the temple and stop collecting the pilgrim tax. They were of the opinion that, without the Government patronage, the temple could not be managed and then it would crumble. Missionary Societies in Orissa, and other parts of India and also in England petitioned to the British Government from time to time urging the Government to severe its connection from the management of the Jagannath Temple. The Orissa Missionaries petitioned to the Governor General, the Court of Directors and to the House of Commons several times to severe Government's connection from the Jagannath Temple. The struggle of missionaries compelled the Court of Directors to send Despatches by virtue of which the Indian Government dissociated itself from the maintenance of the Jagannath Temple. Consistent pressure by the missionary bodies obliged the Bengal Government to abolish the pilgrim tax in 1840. The Annual grant of money however, continued until 1863, when the Government dissociated itself from the management of the temple, retaining only supervisory responsibility and entrusting temple administration

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to the Raja of Khurda, as Superintendent of the temple.

Missionary work was also effective among the tribal population of the hill tracts who had been neglected both by the Government and the natives for centuries. The Christian missionaries were the first to take education and medical services to tribals, particularly to the Santals and Khonds of Orissa. They have done much for their languages by writing books, tracts, grammar and sacred Scriptures in Santali and Kui. They dedicated their lives to the cause of the tribal people. Leaving all amenities and comforts of life they worked in the remotest area where they lived. Phillips spent his whole life for the cause of Santals. Wood and Wilkinson lost their lives for the cause of Khonds.

As fighters against natural calamity and human suffering, the Orissa missionaries contributed their mite whenever Orissa was visited by famines, droughts, epidemics and natural calamities. The famine of 1866 in Orissa was the most disastrous natural calamity that befell the land. Other famines in nineteenth century were localised. About one million people died in the 1866 Famine. The missionaries were the first men to sound a note of warning to the Government regarding the distress of the people. A large number of destitute children were taken care of by them. They reared them up ; provided education in their schools ; arranged marriage ; and provided shelter to them after the marriage. However, their sole object was to convert them to Christianity. The famine orphans became Christians. During the famine, the missionaries took maximum care of their converts. Buckley narrated before the Famine Commission that not a single Christian died in the famine of 1866.[4]

The results of missionary activities led to the formation of new Christian colonies in Orissa and its Tributary Mahals. The Orissa missionaries settled the converts in plots of land where Christian colonies came up with houses of a uniform pattern, clean streets, well-managed schools, and chapels. During the

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period under review several such colonies in form of Christian streets and Christian villages came up where, the converts, the rescued *meriahs* and the famine orphans were settled. The rehabilitation of the native converts, the rescued meriahs and the orphans was a task which the missionaries cheerfully did. They set up the villages and streets,[5] where they settled.

So far as the main object of the missionaries was concerned, they gained a total number of five thousand seven hundred and fifty one converts during the period under review.[6] However, in the Ganjam district, the General Baptists had nine hundred and ten converts and the Roman Catholics had nineteen hundred and forty eight converts.[7] The number of converts sho:>n by them was insignificant. Most of the converts were gained due to the famines and droughts. Thus, Hunter rightly remarked, "If the famine orphans be excepted missionary efforts have made but little progress in actually converting the people.......''[8] The missionaries converted also the rescued meriahs who were entrusted to them by the Government. Thus, out of five million population of Orissa the number of approximately six thousand native Christians as per census of 1901 is quite insignificant for the missionaries.

David B. Smith, the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal rightly remarked, "The missionaries, however, of Orissa are not only apostles of evangelization and education—though such is certainly the chief end of their ambition—but they are the friends of sanitation, the dispensers of medicine to the sick, the clothers of the naked, the feeders of the hungry, the shelterers of the exposed, the guardians of friendless widows and orphans. They have an intimate knowledge of people, their language, their modes of thought and their everyday wants. They have rescued many children from poverty, prostitution, and immolation. Stimulated by the noblest motive, their zeal, tempered by good judgement, they are men to whom, in my opinion, the Government might well entrust more money and resources for the counteraction of much physical degradation

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and misery ever present in Orissa."[9]

Cockburn, formerly Commissioner of Puri, at a public meeting in 1861 said : "I have always taken a deep interest in the prosperity of the Orissa mission, and I have been repaid ten fold."[10]

REFERENCES

1. Sengupta, op. cit., p. 190. "The Missionary Societies in Bengal never worked in harmony with each other. Far from being cordial the relations between missionaries of different dinominations were actually bitter and hostile."
2. Peggs, Rise and Progress……, op. cit., p. 333.
3. Indias' Cries to British Humanity, The Infanticides to Britain……, The Suttee's cry to Britain etc.
4. R. C. F., Vol. I., op. cit., Statement No. 34 of John Buckley.
5. For the rehabilitation of the converts, meriahs and other orphans the missionaries established villages namely ; Choga, Bhoierpore, Khunditar, Mandapara, Jumbhu, Banamalipur, Bailipara, Minchinipathan, Padripalli and Krishnachandrapur.
6. Imperial Gazettee of India, Vol. XII (Oxford, 1908), p. 148.
7. Imperial Gazettee of India, Vol. XIX (Oxford, 1908), p. 249 ; Imperial Gazettee of India, Vol. VII (Oxford, 1908), p. 238.
8. Hunter, Orissa……, Vol. II., op. cit., p. 142.
9. Smith, Report on Pilgrimage……, op. cit., p. 41.
10. Ibid., p. 42.

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APPENDIX—A

List of Christian Missionaries at Work in Orissa during Nineteenth Century :

Sources

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Sutton, Amos.	Orissa and its Evangelization, (Derby, 1850), pp. 104-105.
Badley, B. H.	Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume (Lucknow, 1876), pp. 109, 166-168.

Name of Missionaries and their wives.	Date of Acceptance/Arrival.	Date of Death/ Return/Leaving etc.
1	2	3
William Bampton	Feb. 12, 1822	Died on Dec. 17, 1830
Mrs. Eliza Bampton	1822	1832

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1	2	3
James Peggs	Feb., 1822	Left in 1825 Died on Jan. 5, 1850
Mrs. Eliza Peggs	1822	1825
Charles Lacey	Dec. 19, 1823	Died—Jan. 8, 1852
Mrs. Anney Lacey	1823	
Amos Sutton	March 11, 1824	Died, Aug. 17, 1854
Mrs. C. Sutton	1824	Died-1825
Joshua M. Cropper	1825	Died-1828
Mrs. Eliza Sutton	1826	
W. Brown	1831	Retired, 1837
Mrs. Mary Brown	1831	1837
John Goodby	1833	1837-Returned
Mrs. Anne Goodby	1833	1834-Died
John Brooks	1835	1845-Returned
Mrs. S. Brooks	1834	1845
Mrs. Julia Goodby	1834	1837
Issac stubbins	1837	1865-Returned
Mrs. Anne Stubbins	1836	1837-Died
Miss E. Kirkman (Mrs. Stubbins)	1837	
Henry Wilkinson	1839	1858-Retired
Mrs. C. Wilkinson	1838	
William Brooks	1841	1881-Died
Mrs. E. Brooks	1841	
T. Grant	1841	1843-Died
John Buckley	1844	1876-Returned
William Miller	1845	1889-Resigned
W. Bailey	1845	1880-Died
Miss Collins	1845	
Mrs. Miller	1848	
Mrs. Bailey	1848	

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1	2	3
William Hill	1855	1875-Returned
George Taylor	1855	1872-Returned
John Orissa Goodby	1857	1868 July 27, Died
Thomas Bailey	1861	
Miss A. N. Thompson	1896, Nov. 17	
Miss. H. K. Lugh	1872, November	
J. H. Smith	1873	1877-Returned
John Gregory Pike	1874	1882
H. Wood	1876	1882-Returned
P. E. Heberlet	1878	
J. Vaugham	1878	
T. F. Mulholland	1882	1884
J. F. Hill	1884	
A. H. Young	1885	1916-Retired
E. Brearley	1886	1889
R. L. Lacey	1887	
Mrs. Lacey	1889	
T. Rutland	1889	
Mrs. Rutland	1891	
Abuther Wilknson	1892	Died of Small pox. 1897
Arthur Long	1893, June 20	Died April 23, 1909
F. W. Jarry	1895, Jan., 18	
G. Howell	1895, July 17	
R. J. Grundy	1901, Feb. 12	

Missionaries of A. F. B. M.

1	2	3
Eli Noyes	1835	1842
Mrs. M. Philips	1835	1838-Died
Mrs. C. Noyes	1835	1852-Died
J. Philips	1835	1842
Mrs. Mary Ann Philips	1839	1840-Died

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O. R. Bachelor	1840	
Mrs. C. Bachelor	1840	1845-Died
Miss H. Cunnings	1840	
Miss Collins	1845	
J. Dow	1844	1848
Mrs. Dow	1844	1848
Miss Meril, (Sharp P. Meril)		
Mrs. Bachelor	1847	
Ruel Cooley	1849	1861
Nellie Phillips	1892	
C. Ager	1892	
J. B. Rae	1892	
Mrs. J. Rae	1892	
Miss L. C. Coombs	1893	
E. C. B. Hallam	1857	1872-Left
Mrs. E. C. B. Hallam	1857	
B. B. Smith	1852	1872-Died at Balasore
M. J. Coldren	1881	
Z. F. Griffin	1887	
Mrs. L. C. Griffin	1887	
Miss A. Dessa	1887	
A. B. Boyer	1888	
Mrs. Boyer	1888	
Miss J. Hooper	1888	

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APPENDIX—B

List of Tracts and Books

(Published by the Missionaries and Converts of Baptist Denominations)

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Address to the Native Residents of Balasore and Jellasore : By J. Phillips, pp. 23, Midnapore, 1875.

Am I a Christian ? —Lacey—This tract is an abridgement of "Alleine's Album" translated from the Bengali.

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Brief View of the Christian Religion, pp. 20.

Brook's Previous Remedies against Satan's Devices, translated from a Bengali version. Saytyanar Kalpana—By J. Bailey, Cuttack, 1876.

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Catechism of Non-conformity, pp. 44.

Christ's Invitation, pp. 12.

Christ and Krishna contrasted—Yisu Khrist O Krishnar Tulana, By Mukunda Dasa, pp. 34, Cuttack, 1871.

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Christ, the only Saviour—Yisu Advitiya Tranakarta, By Shem Sahu, pp. 36, Cuttack, 1874.

Christian Hymns for Special Occasions—Vividha Samayika Gana, pp. 24, Cuttack. 1872.

Come to Jesus—Yisur Katiki Asa, I. Stubbins, 5th Edn. Cuttack, 1868.

The Confuter of Caste—Jatipariharaka, by I. Stubbins, 6th edn., pp. 24, Cuttack. 1870 ; 7th edn.. pp. 24, Cuttack, 1871.

Controversial Series—The third volume of Tracts, intended as a "Guide for Enquirers'— pp. 244.

Conversations between Mother and Daughter—Mata O Kanyar Paraspara Katha vartha : A Christian Tract, pp. 20, Cuttack, 1869.

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Flowers of Fable—pp. 13.

A Tract upon the Folly of the Worship of Juggernant ? (Serampore Missionaries—Oriya, 1822).

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Zamindar and Ryot (Jamidar O Rayatar Vishaya)—W. Miller, pp. 18, Cuttack, 1874.

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APPENDIX—C

GLOSSARY

Abadhan : Teacher of a School (Primary) ; Sir.

Anka : Regnal years of the kings of Orissa. The Anka year begins on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Bhadra (August-September). "Certain figures are considered inauspicious and left incounting. These figures are all numbers ending in zero (excepting 10) and ending with six." J. A. S. B., 1893, p. 89.

Ashram : A condition of life or hermitage.

Bairagee : Religious Mendicant ; Recluse.

Bakhshi : Commander-in-chief.

Batpeada : Peon.

Bazar : Market.

Begar : A forced labourer.

Bhog : Offering to the deity in form of food.

Bhurrung : A class of Pilgrim.

Bisoyee : Hill-chief.

Brahman : A person from a high caste with Sacred thread in Hindu Society.

Butwa : Pilgrim-guide.

Chandan : The festival of taking-out image of a diety (Jagannath) to a tank and giving it a boating for 21 days beginning with the third-day of the Light-fortnight of the month of Baisakha.

Chela : Disciple.

Chatasali : Village School.

Chatti : A name given to a collection of Chulas.

Dasabatara : The Ten Incarnations assumed by God

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(Vishnu) in coming upon the earth to deliver it from sin or oppression.

Desi : A native of a country.

Dewal-puroha : A head-priest of Jagannath.

Dhaja-Pindika : Temple offerings.

Dhuja : The quantity and value of cloth presented for the purpose of being displayed on the wheel at the top of the temple of Jagannath on which the Government received from the person presenting it its full value as a fee under the Head Dhuja.

Dhuttoora : Thorn Apple.

Dursan, Barsan : Sight of a deity.

Fakir : A muslim-mendicant.

Garjat : Region comprising tributary states to the Mughal, Maratha and British Government.

Ghat : A place where custom duty or Tax is levied.

Guru : Religious teacher ; speritual guide.

Hat : Market place.

Hurkurah : Messenger.

Hurry, Hadi : A scavenger class.

Jagir : Revenue Freeland in lieu of payment for service.

Jata : Hair-knot.

Jatra : A religious festival or fair.

Jatri : A pilgrim.

Kangal : Destitute ; miserable.

Karan : A section of Kshyatriya caste ; writer class.

Kaupuni : Underwear borne by the Indian ascetics.

Kauri, Cowri : Small shell used as a coin in account four Kauris or equal to one ganda.

Khandayat : A Class of military people holding their lands at a quitrent on condition of acting as a feudal militia.

Khanja : Monetary assignment in land.

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Khond : A Class of wildly tribes inhabitating the hill tracts of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

Khondistan : The Hill tracts where the Khonds inhabit.

Killa : A fort.

Killadar : Owner of a fort.

Kothabhoga : The prescribed quantity of offering made to a diety out of its own fund.

Laljatrae : A class of pilgrim.

Mahajan : A banker.

Mahaprasad : Holy food of Jagannath.

Math : A religious institution resembling a monastery.

Mandap : An altar.

Mandir : A temple.

Masjid : Mosque.

Mauza : A village or group of villages.

Mogulbundi : The level and cultivated portion of Orissa (Balasore, Cuttack and Puri) from which the Moguls derived revenue.

Mohunt : Head of the big Math or of a Hindu religious community.

Naik : A term indicating the head of a group in various parts of India ; an army general.

Pagoda : Temple.

Paik : Foot soldier holding land on tenure of military service.

Panda, Punda : A temple priest.

Pargana : A tract of country comprising some villages ; division of a district.

Parichha : High priest of the Jagannath temple.

Parihari, Pratihari : Jagannath Temple guide.

Patra : An officer equivalent to Diwan or manager of an estate.

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Pundit, Pandit : An oriental scholar.

Purcha : A Head Officer, one of the managers of Jagannath temple.

Putwari : A village accountant.

Rath : Chariot.

Sadhu,

Sanyasee : A mendicant.

Sarbarakar : Under-holder.

Sayer : Transit duty, house tax, market tax etc.

Sevak : Priest or worshipper.

Shaster,

Shastra : Hindu scriptures.

Sarai : Lodging house for travellers.

Sicca : A stamped coin.

Sloka : Sanskrit verse.

Sradha : An obsequial or Funeral rites.

Tanka : Rupee.

Telega : Telugu People.

Tirtha : Holy Place.

Yogi : Mendicant belonging to a particular caste.

Zamindar : A land lord ; proprietor of land directly responsible to the Government for payment of rent.

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ERRATA

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1	10	among them	amon gthem
2	12	Puri (1825)	Puri (1823)
5	15	different	differents
		languages	language
	34	150 Sterling	150
6	11	number	numbers
	27	making the	making ihe
9	22	in	tn
12	15	case	casc
15	11	arrived	afrived
29	34	J. G. Pike	G. J. Pike
30	7	L. S. S. O' Malley,	L. S. S., C' Malley,
31	42	Geography	Ceography
	20	step	stephen
	22	beneficial	denɩficial
39	29	formed	forme
41	30	Mary Phillips	Mare Phillips
47	20-21	So far as Orissa	Conversions were made both among the people of British Orissa.
.2	14	Komalee	Homalee
	15	not	nof
53	3	before	befoe
57	25	show	shaw
60	8	military	millitery
66	34	"The Life of Christ"	the Life of "Christ"
71	36	rite	rita
93	32	water carriers	water carries
99	35	pilgrims	bilgrims
103	9	scarcely	scarcels
103	25	A. J. M. Mills	A. J. Mills
104	29	if	it
110	35	1833	1838
113	21	two Houses of Parliament	House of Parliament
120	1	Khordah	Khardah
131	31	The	She
	32	Meriah	Neriah

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134	25	The Pilgrim's Progress	The Pilgrims' Progress
138	6	Tom Wood	John Wood
	20	1899	1809
	27	Baptist	Bap ish
139	5	Officials	officiale
140	15	form	from
	35	A. F. B. Missionaries	A. F. B. Mission
152	32	Baptist	Baptish
158	3	Khonds	Konda
161	21	from it	from
164	4	led to the	led to be
170	35	67	7/9
173	8	B. O. D. G.,	B. O. D. C.,
	21	Cambridge	Combridge
177	40	T. E. Ravenshaw	T. Ravenshaw
	37	orphan girls	orphans girls
183	10	Rajahs	Rajah
187	6	G. B. Missionaries	G. B. M. S.
191	15	at Government cost	at Government
203	7	B. O. D. G :	B. C. D. G :
205	9	of	ofe
	15	lectur	lecture
210	10	methods	method
212	14	The G. B.	The C. B.

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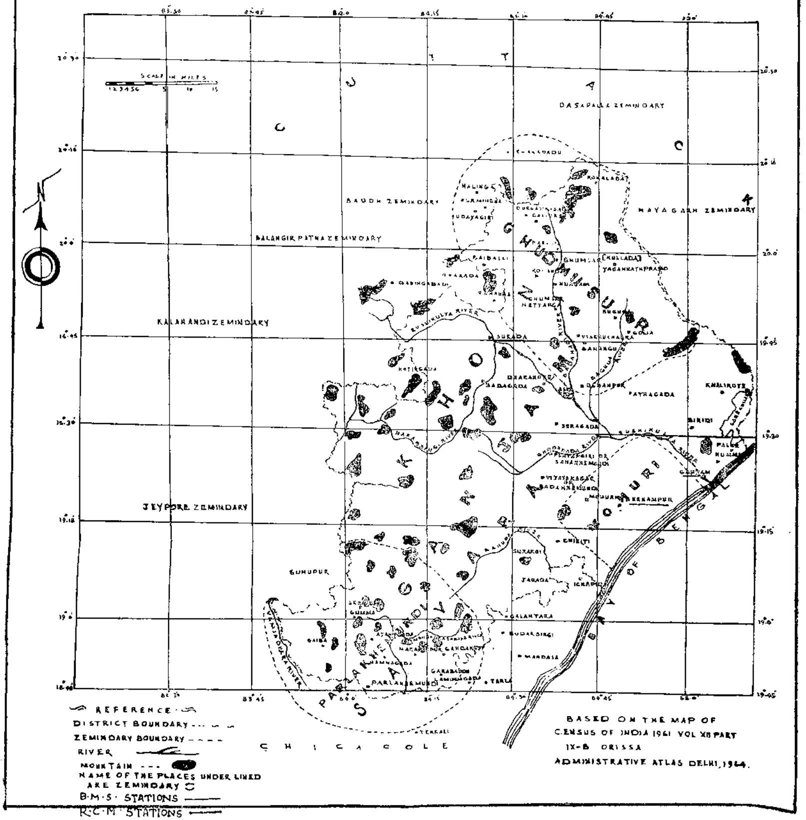
GANJAM DISTRICT

1766 - 1858



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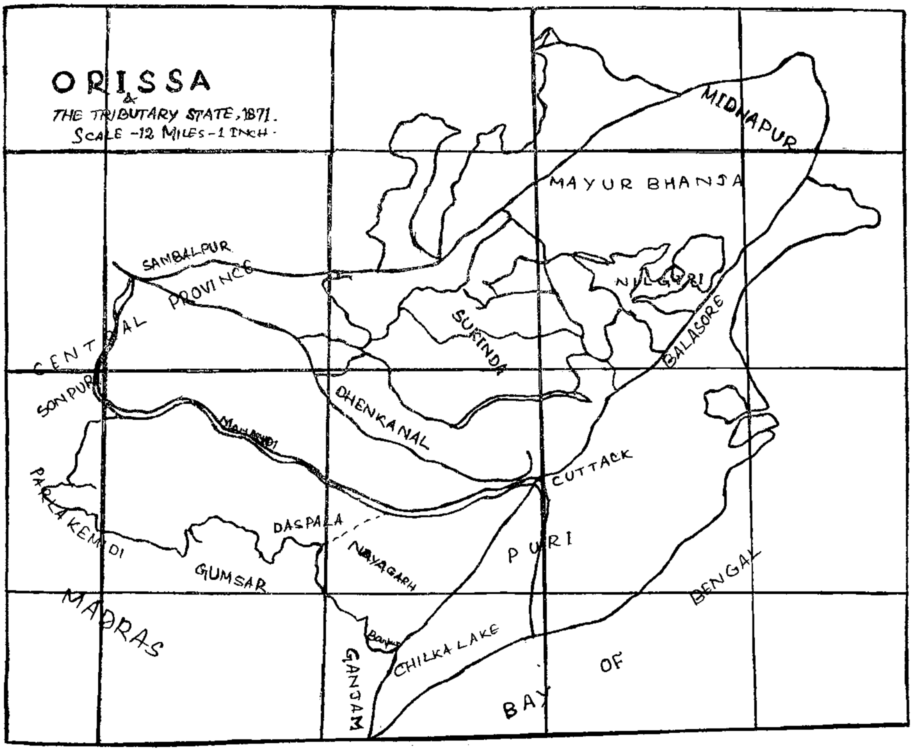

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About the Author

Dasarathi Swaro was born at Bhanjanagar, Ganjam in 1951. He prosecuted his M.A. in History with a First Class from Berhampur University in 1973. He has been awarded Ph.D. from Berhampur University in 1986. He has published several research papers in leading Historical Research Journals. At present he is a lecturer in History in K. S. U. B. College, Bhanjanagar, Ganjam, Orissa.

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